

Man Who Couldn't Work Miracles Stanley Kauffmann
BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — August 9 & 16, 1969, 40 cents

The Naked American

Eric Bentley

Will Russia Fight China?

Neville Maxwell

Nixon's Antitrust Policy

William F. Baxter

Bucharest Hora

Philip Ben

waxing verbal

*an unprecedented selection of spoken records
now available to New Republic readers.*

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 8. EDWARD R. MURROW: "I CAN HEAR IT NOW"
(Pre-war broadcasts) Each 5.95
A) 1919-1932; B) 1933-1945;
C) 1945-1949 3 LPs. Set 11.90 | 272. REINER & BROOKS—
2,000 Years 5.95 | 412. T. S. ELIOT—
Reading 5.95 |
| 9. KENNEDY WIT—
From speeches, press conferences, etc. 5.98 | 274. TOM LEHRER, SONGS
Dixie, Dope, Harvard, Be Prepared, and others 4.95 | 474. GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS—
Poetry/C. Cusack 5.95 |
| 11. REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.—
In Search of Freedom 4.98 | 295. STAN FREBERG'S
United States of America 5.95 | 477. A. E. HOUSMAN—
Shropshire Lad, read by James Mason 5.95 |
| 12. SOUND OF DISSENT—
Protest Movements of the '60's 4.98 | 301. BAUDELAIRE—
Fleurs du Mal (F) Eve Le Gallienne, Louis Jourdan 5.95 | 519. CHARLES LAUGHTON—
Program of Readings 9.90 |
| 47. SAINT JOAN (Shaw)—
McKenna, Pleasence, Aylmer, etc. 4 LPs. 24.80 | 303. SAMUEL BECKETT—
Cusack 5.95 | 535. LAMENT ON DEATH OF BULLFIGHTER (Sp)
Read by G. Montero 4.95 |
| 56. BADMEN
Spoken Voices of the West. 2 LP's. 9.70 | 327. WILLIAM BLAKE—
Richardson 5.95 | 537. ROBERT LOWELL—
Reads Own Works 5.95 |
| 57. BEHIND THE LINES IN VIETNAM—
Harrison Salisbury 4.95 | 334. ROBERT BROWNING—
James Mason 5.95 | 558. MARSHALL McLUHAN—
Medium is the Massage 4.95 |
| 61. BERTOLT BRECHT 5.95 | 344. TRUMAN CAPOTE—
Thanksgiving Visitor read by Capote 4.95 | 603. KENNETH PATCHEN—
Jazz & Poetry in Canada 5.95 |
| 70. ABBA EBAN—
Horizons of Peace 4.95 | 357. CHRISTIAN POETRY & PROSE—
A. Guinness 5.95 | 633. THEODORE ROETHKE—
Words For the Wind—Roethke 5.95 |
| 73. LENNY BRUCE—
Berkeley Concert—Uncut 6.95 | 373. NOEL COWARD—
Duologues—Coward & M. Leighton 5.95 | 647. CARL SANDBURG—
Fog—etc.—Read by the Author 5.95 |
| 89. KENNEDY SELF PORTRAIT
2 LP's. 11.90 | 377. E. E. CUMMINGS—
Read by the Poet 5.95 | 666. TOM LEHRER
Poisoning the Pigeons, Masochism, Oedipus, The Bomb, and others 4.95 |
| 101. The Bestiary of FLANDERS & SWANN 5.95 | 390. EMILY DICKINSON—
Self Portrait—J. Harris. 2 LP's. 11.90 | 749. WM. BUTLER YEATS—
McKenna, Cusack 5.95 |
| 116. UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE 5.95 | 391. JAMES DICKEY—
Reads his Poetry 5.95 | 833. BECKET—
Dialogue Highlights/Burton, O'Toole 5.95 |
| 121. WAR OF THE WORLDS—
Orson Welles' famous radio broadcast of 1939 5.95 | 395. AN EVENING WITH MIKE NICHOLS & ELAINE MAY 4.95 | 843. SHAKESPEARE; SOULE OF AN AGE—
M. Redgrave, cast—w/Booklet 6.95 |
| 126. WNEW'S STORY OF SELMA, ALABAMA 5.95 | 404. LAWRENCE DURRELL—
Love Poems, read by the author 5.95 | 876. PETER USTINOV—
Grand Prix of Gibraltar—Spoof on sports car racing 5.95 |
| 159. ORIGINAL BROADWAY CAST, DYLAN—
with Alec Guinness 11.59 | 410. EDUCATION & RETURN OF H*Y*M*A*N* K*A*P*L*A*N*—
Rosten 5.95 | 880. LORD BUCKLEY—
Best 4.95 |
| 170. HAND IS ON THE GATE—
Original Cast—Poetry and songs of the Negro 5.79 | | |
| 228. OLD GLORY—
Benito Cereno (R. Lowell) 2 LP's. 9.59 | | |
| 242. PETER SCHICKELE—
Hysteric Return 5.95 | | |
| 243. SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL
(Sheridan)—Gielgud, Richardson, etc. 3 LP's. 7.77 | | |

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Dept. WV
Washington, D. C. 20036 TNR0816

Please send the records whose numbers I
have circled below.

8 9 11 12 47 56 57 61 70 73 89
101 116 121 126 159 170 228 242 243 272 274
295 301 303 327 334 344 357 373 377 390 391
395 404 410 412 474 477 519 535 537 558 603
633 647 666 749 833 843 876 880

I enclose \$_____ plus 25c postage and
handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip Code _____

Who Speaks in The Public Interest?

Answer: Jacques Barzun, Daniel Bell, Peter F. Drucker, John Kenneth Galbraith, Nathan Glazer, Robert L. Heilbroner, Richard Hofstadter, Irving Kristol, Martin Mayer, Daniel P. Moynihan, David Riesman, James Q. Wilson and other authorities

Now you may join the growing company of thoughtful citizens who regularly read

The Public Interest

Begin your subscription with the current 204-page Special Issue: **FOCUS ON NEW YORK**

In the three years since its founding, **The Public Interest** has had an impact frankly beyond the expectations of its editors, Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol. These may be the reasons why:

- **The Public Interest** is the only magazine of its kind—an independent forum for scholarly, readable (yet hard-hitting and critical) analysis of the political, social and policy problems facing America today and, very likely, tomorrow.
- Contributors are selected for: their expertise in social or political science, government, education or planning; the ability to write plain, jargonless English; their freedom from orthodoxy and cliché-thinking; their skill at puncturing cherished assumptions, pricking inflated reputations, disturbing ideological complacency and, generally, rocking the intellectual boat.
- The editors are committed to no predetermined point of view, to no party, program or personality. Their purpose is to promote readable, informed discussion of the controversies inevitable (and indeed desirable) in a democratic society . . . to create a sharper awareness of, a deeper commitment to the search for that elusive “something” known as **The Public Interest**.

If this makes sense to you, why not join our growing list of subscribers? (Though **The Public Interest** will never be a mass magazine, circulation has sextupled in three years—almost entirely by word-of-mouth advertising.) If you join us now, your subscription begins with the Summer 1969 number, just off press—a Special Issue, nearly double our normal size, devoted to New York City. On newsstands, it sells for \$2, a normal issue for \$1.50. But when you subscribe, \$5 brings you four quarterly issues, \$9 brings you eight. The coupon is to the right.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

404 Park Avenue South New York, New York 10016

EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW SPECIAL ISSUE

“**THOMAS WOLFE** once entitled a memorable short story, ‘Only the Dead Know Brooklyn.’ Who knows New York? Not very many among the living, it would seem. . . . Surely New York is unique among American cities for the vast ignorance and odd misimpressions which its own inhabitants—including the most educated and the most powerful—have of it. Only in New York can active politicians and leading journalists be so blithely unaware of the kinds of people who live in their city, of where they live and how, of what their condition is and of what their problems are.”

IRVING KRISTOL & PAUL WEAVER, page 41

“**THERE IS** a general, structural reason for the liberalism of many big-city mayors, a reason that implies the arrival of a new era in city politics, unlike either the era of the political machine or that of conventional political reform. For many mayors today, and for perhaps some time to come, their **audience** (various Federal agencies, the large foundations, the mass media, the affluent suburban voters who will pass on their fitness for higher office) is increasingly different from their **constituency**, those people who can vote for or against them now in an election.”

JAMES Q. WILSON, pages 28-9

“**ONE CLICHE** of contemporary political discourse is that ‘the people have no real voice . . . in their political affairs,’ a view reinforced by a ponderous academic sociology. In fact, there is more participation than ever before in American society, particularly in the large urban centers such as New York, and more opportunity for the active and interested person to express his political and social concerns. That very state of affairs leads to a paradox because it is the increase in participation which creates a sense of powerlessness and consequent frustration.”

DANIEL BELL & VIRGINIA HELD, page 142

“**THE WELFARE CRISIS** in New York presents a dilemma to the advocate—as I am—of programs of income maintenance. We can find arguments for these programs throughout the nation. But what they would not do is deal with the anomaly of hundreds of thousands of families broken by abandonment and incapable of finding support through the ordinary processes of the labor market. Here is a social disaster, and income maintenance (while desirable) is at best a very partial poultice. . . . To my mind, the heart of the crisis is a massive change in values which makes various kinds of work that used to support families undesirable to large numbers of potential workers today. How to reform that I don’t know, since this change in values is itself the product of an affluent society.”

NATHAN GLAZER, page 186

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

404 Park Avenue South New York, New York 10016

Open my subscription to **The Public Interest** with the 204-page Special Issue: Focus on New York. Enclosed is my check or money order for:

☐ One year, \$5 (4 issues)

☐ Two years, \$9 (8 issues)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE & ZIP



Give them this day their daily bread.

Think of the last time that *you* were hungry. Really hungry. Was it because dinner was late? Or because you missed a lunch?

Can you imagine what it is to go through life never knowing what it is like *not* to be hungry? Subsisting day after day on a few greens around noon... and some pinto beans in the evening? Nothing more. Nothing different. And not even enough of that.

It sounds incredible. And it is incredible. Because it's taking place right now... in the midst of the good life so many of us are now living in America.

But walk down the back roads of

most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers... and their children... with stomachs bloated,

eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

The irony is that they aren't starving at a rate dramatic enough to arouse the indignation of the nation and the world. Otherwise something would have already been done.

One of the programs that is aiding many of these families is the federally sponsored Food Stamp Plan. Under this plan a needy family can convert a 50¢ food stamp into as much as

\$12.00 worth of food. The problem is getting that 50¢, because many families have *no* income at all.

The NAACP Special Contribution Fund has begun a nationwide drive to help thousands survive. If you can do with one less "dinner out" this month, the money can mean a month's supply of meat, milk, and bread for a family of five. Just \$10.00 buys up to \$240.00 in food stamps.

If you would like to contribute to this fund, please send your tax-deductible check, for as little or as much as you can, to the NAACP Mississippi Emergency Relief Fund.

Thank you. And may *your* next meal be a little more enjoyable.

NAACP MISSISSIPPI EMERGENCY RELIEF, DEPT. E1B, BOX 121, RADIO CITY STA., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019
(A project of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund—tax-deductible arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.)

CONSPIRACY?



CHICAGO: AUGUST 28, 1968

Photo courtesy Fred W. McDarrah (The Village Voice)

Eight prominent political activists go on trial next month in Chicago federal court. They are charged with criminal conspiracy—specifically with using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent “to incite, organize, promote, encourage, participate in and carry on a riot” in the City of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention. The accused are: David Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Lee Weiner, John Froines and Bobby Seale. If convicted, each defendant faces up to ten years imprisonment and \$20,000. in fines. Their indictment—the first under the controversial “Anti-riot” provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1968—is perhaps the most ominous challenge to political liberty since the era of Senator Joseph McCarthy. It marks the opening of a major effort to suppress those that the new Deputy Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, has branded “our modern ideological criminal.” Confronted by a blatantly political challenge, the eight defendants are determined to make a political response as well as a legal defense. As a sign of their refusal to be intimidated by the scare label the prosecution would hang upon them, they are calling themselves The Conspiracy.

Despite the emphatic opposition of then-Attorney General Clark and civil libertarians in the Congress, the “Anti-riot” rider was hastily attached to the Civil Rights Act of 1968 in the wake of the urban riots that followed the murder of Martin Luther King. The measure was specifically directed at “outside agitators” in the civil rights movement.

The effect of the Anti-riot act is to subvert the First Amendment guarantee of free assembly by equating organized political demonstration with organized violence and calculated incitement. Potentially, the law is the foundation for a police state in America.

In the last decade, countless Americans have participated in organized demonstrations and protests—boycotts, freedom rides, the peace movement. They have revitalized democratic politics. Yet, from Bull Connor’s Birmingham to Richard Daley’s Chicago, civil authorities have employed police violence to suppress “the right of the people peaceably to assemble.” The spectres of conspiracy, incitement and riot have been invoked again and again.

Acts of violence, incitement and disruption are explicitly covered by numerous, long-established state and local laws. Conspiracy, which deals not with illegal act but *intent*, requires no proof of the commission of a crime, nor even of an attempt. As Mr. Justice Robert Jackson wrote a decade

ago: “that elastic, so sprawling and pervasive offense, the modern crime of conspiracy is so vague that it almost defies definition.”

Both the mass media and the government’s own Walker Report made it clear that the principal responsibility for acts of violence that occurred in Chicago last August lay with the Chicago authorities. The spuriousness of the present conspiracy indictment is further indicated in the fact that several of the eight defendants have helped to organize major public demonstrations in other cities, both before and after the week of the Democratic National Convention. Not one of these demonstrations resulted in riot.

Through the trial, *The Conspiracy* intends to refocus public attention on the root issues that brought thousands of demonstrators to Chicago—the war, racism, the enfeeblement of the nation’s political process. At the same time, they will carry forward the first constitutional challenge to the “Anti-riot” act.

Financial support for the Chicago legal defense is urgently needed: to preserve the Constitutional right of dissent; to insure that the costly and protracted process of litigation does not effectively stifle the act of dissent when it is more than ever crucial to the democratic political life.

Checks may be mailed to: **CHICAGO DEFENSE FUND**
28 EAST JACKSON BLVD.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60604

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE CONSPIRACY

GAR ALPEROVITZ
RICHARD AVEDON
PETER BABCOX
JOHN C. BENNETT
JULIAN BOND
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
CARTER BURDEN
ALEXANDER CALDER
ERWIN CHARGAFF
NOAM CHOMSKY
JUDY COLLINS
JOHN CONYERS Jr.
HARVEY COX
OSSIE DAVIS
RUBY DEE

DON EDWARDS
JULES FEIFFER
E. Z. FRIEDENBERG
ALLEN GINSBERG
PAUL GOODMAN
ANDREW HACKER
MICHAEL HARRINGTON
JOSEPH HELLER
NAT HENTOFF
JOHN HERSEY
JOHN HOLT
JANE JACOBS
CHRISTOPHER JENCKS
LOUIS KAMPF
ELIA KAZAN

DONALD KALISH
JAMES S. KUNEN
CHRISTOPHER LASCH
SIDNEY LENS
ROY LICHTENSTEIN
DAVID LIVINGSTON
HELEN MERRELL LYND
DWIGHT MACDONALD
HERBERT MAGIDSON
NORMAN MAILER
STEWART MEACHAM
LARRY DAVID NACHMAN
JACK NEWFIELD
MICHAEL NOVAK
CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

ROBERT OSBORN
MARCUS RASKIN
PETE SEEGER
ROGER L. SHINN
TOM SMOTHERS
SUSAN SONTAG
TERRY SOUTHERN
ALBERT SZENT-GYÖRGYI
BENJAMIN SPOCK
I. F. STONE
HAROLD TAYLOR
ARTHUR WASKOW
PETER and CORA WEISS
ROBERT PAUL WOLFF
HOWARD ZINN

Poultice on Crime

When I was a boy we didn't lock the house when we went out. Now we lock it, and women will not walk alone in the streets at night. This has been a degrading, a shocking change in everyday life. We have sent a man to the moon and allowed a quiet fear to settle on America. We are afraid of each other.

It is the contention of this article that the Nixon Administration through its strong man, Attorney General John Mitchell, is offering a series of showy, simplistic prescriptions for crime, which are about as useful for the overall malady as aspirins for cancer. In this view I am supported, I believe, by Harvard Law School professor James Vorenberg, formerly of the Justice Department, and recently executive director of President Johnson's 1965-67 Crime Commission. He sees a "hoax" and a "deception" in what the Nixon Administration is doing. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark is hardly less outspoken.

Robberies, rapes and murders are rising in America but the story is better told in the case of the Negro mother in Baltimore who won't go out on her stoop at night even to escape the heat. She's afraid. And evidence shows that rich suburbs where crime is least, fear crime the most—almost hysterically.

Fix your attention on two facts: 70 to 90 percent of all crime in America isn't reported at all (people think the police can't or won't help). And second, most criminals are young: 15-year-olds commit more serious crimes than any other age group; with 16-year-olds a close second, and over 50 percent of all arrests for burglaries involve youths under 18. In short, crime and juvenile delinquency are twins.

The fight against crime is the story of a series of Presidential commissions whose findings are repeatedly ignored. They give explanations the public doesn't like. The commissions urge costly solutions; the public wants quick, easy solutions. Nobody has offered quicker, easier ones than Messrs. Nixon and Mitchell.

Let's review matters. President Kennedy asked anticrime legislation in his State of the Union message, January 1962. Nothing much happened. In 1963 he urged more aid to troubled youth. And he was shot. In 1964 candidate Goldwater denounced crime; he linked lawlessness with welfare programs and scored court release of suspects (all favorite themes of President Nixon). So then in 1965 Mr. Johnson set up his Crime Commission.

After an 18-month study, the commission produced a huge report saying that the fight on crime would cost a great deal of money: minimum family incomes to strike at the root of delinquency in slums and poverty; a sweeping firearms registration system, and particularly, more and better trained cops. There were 200 recommendations in all.

Result: Congress passed a safe streets act which LBJ grudgingly said contained "more good than bad." It also passed a lame firearms act.

In February 1968 Mr. Johnson's second group (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) reported after a seven-month study—the Kerner Report. Among other things it urged decent housing and a "national system of income supplements." It said America is "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Controversy followed; little was done.

In the Presidential campaign Mr. Nixon denounced the Supreme Court. The crime problem was all simple and easy, he implied. (He had a plan to end the war, too.) Governor Rockefeller denounced Nixon; he said "it is not straight talk to issue resounding statements on crime control, which wholly omit the slightest mention of gun control," and to place "overwhelming blame on the national government . . . when we all know that criminal law enforcement is overwhelmingly in the charge of the state and local government."

Never mind; Mr. Nixon did not stop.

He charged that Humphrey was "tragically naive" about crime; [had] "exaggerated and overemphasized poverty in this country as a cause of crime. . . . The war on poverty is not a war on crime and it is not a substitute for a war on crime."

Mr. Nixon got elected and began applying his proposals, with a hardliner in the Supreme Court and Mitchell as Attorney General. And now a third group has reported. Just the other day Milton Eisenhower's National Commission on Violence urged stronger gun controls. Two Administration officials promptly opposed the recommendations in testimony.

So what does the Administration offer? In rather tragic testimony before the latest House committee investigating crime, under Rep. Claude Pepper (D., Fla), James Vorenberg reviewed what has come of all the recommendations. He was executive director of the 1965 commission, he was on the inside. He spoke immediately after listening to Attorney General Mitchell, though the latter had left the room. He spoke extemporaneously.

He listed the new Nixon panaceas; they are going to thwart crime by repealing the Miranda decision (limiting police use of so-called "voluntary" confessions); by wiretapping; by heavier penalties on marijuana, and by such things as "preventive detention" (authority to throw suspects into jail for 60 days without bail). Messrs. Nixon and Mitchell have been giving the public just what it wants—the idea that the courts have handcuffed police and that all you have to do to eliminate crime in this country is to take a few simple steps.

Vorenberg gave the impression of a man quietly desperate. He used words like "hoax," "deception," "demoralizing," "easy gimmicks," "diversionary sideshow." It was sad, he said, to see "50 or 100 kids just on the margin of trouble" with no remedial action. Congress spent a year debating wiretapping, he said, while ignoring juvenile delinquency. He did not attack Mr. Nixon personally. But he noted that Mitchell implied that stiffening rules of confession would catch the Mafia—as though the Mafia didn't know its legal rights. So put a poultice on crime and send a man to the moon. For what is a nation profited, if it shall gain the whole world, and lose its own soul?

Contents

- 7 Headless Phantom, Boneless Wonder
- 8 Bucharest Hora – Philip Ben
- 10 Legal Nonsense – Ronald Goldfarb
- 11 Community Control: Down But Not Out
– Joseph Featherstone
- 13 Nixon's Antitrust Policy
– William F. Baxter
- 17 China and the USSR on the Brink
– Neville Maxwell
- 20 Books – Reviews by Stanley Kauffmann,
Kenneth Burke, John Osborne
- 23 Poem – Reed Whittemore
- 31 Theater – Eric Bentley
- 34 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
 Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
 Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
 Associate Literary Editor –
 Stanley Kauffmann
 Assistant Literary Editor – Deborah Field
 Associate Editors – David Sanford,
 Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
 Production Manager – Ira Klafter
 Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
 Contributing Editors –
 Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein,
 Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks,
 Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway,
 Paul Wieck
 S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
 London Correspondent –
 Anthony Howard
 Publisher – Robert J. Myers
 Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
 Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
 Advertising Manager – Holly Reppert
 National Advertising Director –
 F. F. McAdams
 20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Headless Phantom, Boneless Wonder

Senator Eugene McCarthy comes up for reelection next year but says he won't run. Senator Edward Kennedy also comes up for reelection, says he will run, and will likely face a severe Republican challenge. Meantime he has decided, despite being in the shadow of a suspended sentence and of possible further disclosures about the fatal accident to Miss Mary Jo Kopechne, to retain his Senate seat and his position as majority Whip. Last week he returned to Washington, in time to greet President Nixon at Andrews Air Force base. The weather was bad. "From now on I will be called 'Nixon the Rainmaker,'" the President observed. "That is better than being called a 'troublemaker.'" Small talk has never been Mr. Nixon's forte. At midweek, Senator Kennedy spoke in the debate on ABM. He pointed out that the Administration's case for an antiballistic missile system still left some vital questions unanswered, and "the answers . . . are not easy for us." Therefore, Senator Kennedy proposed that Safeguard be tested, but not yet deployed. That is like saying the country need think about crossing the deployment bridge only when it comes to it. Yet Senator Kennedy says he believes that even if Safeguard "might work in a technical sense, it would not protect" (because it can easily be overwhelmed). The debate's upshot was a razor-edge Senate vote for initial deployment on only two sites (Montana and North Dakota) not on twelve sites. Even that however will take a long time, probably more than a year; the new superarms race can still be called off. But the Pentagon evidently doesn't want it called off. In a patent last-minute bid to mold the ABM vote, the Defense Department's research head, Dr. John S. Foster Jr., revealed to Congress his "judgment" that Russia probably has a MIRV (multiple bomb), which the Soviet Union has built especially to destroy American missiles before they can be fired. That of course is just the kind of attack ABM is supposed to be able to blunt. (This country too has MIRV's but, to hear Foster tell it, ours are positively beneficial and indescribably delicious.)

The struggle for sanity must go on, and over other urgent issues besides ABM. The fight is in considerable danger of being waged unsuccessfully, or inconclusively, unless strong screws can be put on the determined and powerful men who now hold the levers in the Pentagon and in and around the White House. The way to do this is

for the liberals in both the parties to rally public opinion. But the main shove has to come from the party that is no longer in control of the White House though retaining its majorities in both chambers of Congress. It is or it could be a national tragedy, transcending Senator Kennedy's, that at this critical juncture the Democratic Party appears broke for more than money. The money deficiencies can quickly be made up once the checkbooks become willing to reopen, but that's unlikely until the Democrats find a new leader who will un-Circe them. For the feat assuredly won't be performed for them, merely by growth of public loathing of President Nixon and his Administration. That seems far off. It's even a fairly safe bet that it won't occur, if Mr. Nixon does somehow haul himself, the troops and the country out of the Vietnam quicksand, and provided he and Treasury Secretary David Kennedy don't mismanage the economy back to 1929.

After six months, the Nixon style is at last becoming describable, though not delicious. If the Democratic Party is at the moment almost a headless phantom, the President is politically a boneless wonder. Mr. Nixon achieves his murky effects by a fascinating medley of indirection, misdirection, obliquity, ambiguity, and they went thataway. He often seems like one of those streamlined cars, hard to tell if he's coming or going. His nine-day whirl around the world was studded with startling illustrations of the Nixon

method. On the one hand, Asia for the Asians (and Europe for the Europeans): no more creeping involvements for the US, no being sucked into the mud and blood of further Vietnams. In several plane-ride interviews, the President's message to his eagerly attending press corps — no quotes, but you can print it verbatim — appeared to square entirely with Senator Stuart Symington's ripe warning: "We are over-committed politically, militarily and economically; we just can't mold the world into the image of the US and what the US stands for because it isn't what the other people want." But Mr. Nixon also made several public statements. The US "will stand proudly" with the military rulers of fragile Thailand against any foe, foreign or Thai. In Vietnam, the US has "gone as far as we can or should go in opening the door to negotiations," and "Saigon is not going to be Ho Chi Minh City," for "the Thieu regime is going to make it." Thieu himself according to Mr. Nixon is among the world's five best politicians (leaving one wondering who are the other three). Now you see it, now you don't; the quickness of the tongue deceives the ear. This is the Nixon formula, and it worked in places as far apart as Djakarta and Bucharest. It may also work for a while with the folks at home, for whom the formula includes a little more bread, the federal workhouse variety, and more space circuses. Let it be fairly acknowledged that for gimmickry and sleight of hand, Nixon's the one. But where is the leader who will compel a reordering of priorities, away from ABM and MIRV and war and toward curing racism and saving cities?

Bucharest Hora

Rich Richard's Red Rumanians

Bucharest

For many Americans and foreigners, Richard Nixon is not the most reliable interpreter of world politics. But he was right when he said here that he had visited more than 60 countries but nowhere got a better reception than in Communist Rumania.

It was the first visit of an American President to a Communist capital. Several hundred thousand Rumanians stood for hours to get a glimpse of him. The thousands of paper flags they waved — for many, these were the first American flags they had ever seen — were all manufactured by the Communist government, in a country where private industry does not exist. The United States may be anathema to people in Latin America, or Vietnam, but is immensely popular with



the citizens of Communist countries. For the Rumanians, the American President was not the arch-imperialist, the ugly one who is sending his planes to bomb a "brotherly socialist country." He was the ruler of a country which makes splendid big cars and Virginia cigarettes, and whose citizens can easily spend in one evening what a Rumanian, Pole, or Russian earns in a month.

Above all, however, Nixon was a proof to the cheering Rumanians that their country's risky independent line, adopted in defiance of Russia, has put Rumania on the map of the world, that people everywhere now realize that along the Danube there is a country that, though it has a Communist regime, cannot be simply dismissed as a rank-and-file member of the Soviet bloc.

The 28-hour visit of an American President did not make the Rumanians dizzy. It did not create false hopes and dangerous illusions. In this country, whose history is so full of invasions and conquests, people are surprisingly realistic. "Mr. Nixon comes and goes, but the Soviet Union stays across the Prut River." One could hear that repeated a hundred times during those memorable hours in Bucharest. But Rumanians were also saying that, by coming to their country, the American President was telling the rulers in the Kremlin that if they want a lasting and peaceful coexistence with the US — and many Rumanians believe that this is now foremost in Soviet minds — one of the preconditions is that the Russians must not do to Rumania what they did to Czechoslovakia.

Nothing infuriated the ordinary Rumanians more than the very polished, very sophisticated Rumanian high officials pointing out that the Nixon visit was not an extraordinary event, but was simply in line with the Rumanian policy of good relations with all countries irrespective of their kind of regime; they were also annoyed by hearing Nixon condemned by some American liberals for going to Bucharest instead of to Moscow. This seemed to them wrong on moral grounds as well as for practical reasons. "The claim that the world's most important problems can, and indeed should, be solved between the US and Russia, is that not a call for a return to Yalta, a demand that the world should be redivided into spheres of influence?" the Rumanians asked. And they quickly added that people who advise the American President to go to Moscow because he can settle there such complex problems as the strategic armaments race, and so divert billions of dollars to American domestic needs, are simpletons who ignore the vested interests which, under every regime, oppose radical changes.

The Rumanians saw the visit as helping to break the rigid structure of the military and ideological blocs, which they themselves had helped to make less rigid by behaving, for years now, as "the black sheep" of the Communist camp, of the Warsaw Pact countries,

and of COMECON, the economic grouping of Communist Europe. Rumania's interest in such a breakdown of barriers is obvious: in a tightly run Communist bloc Rumania must remain a second-rate or even third-rate country, its main role to supply ample raw materials to the "bigger brothers." But, in a world without blocs, or at least of loose blocs, Rumania can be run by the Rumanians, for the Rumanians; and eventually can become well off.

It was for this reason that the Rumanian rulers accepted President Nixon's offer to visit Bucharest, unexpectedly brought to them one day at the end of June by the American chargé d'affaires. The Nixon offer came at the worst possible moment. Nicolae Ceausescu, the iron-willed boss of Rumania, was just back from Moscow. There he had attended the Communist world conference, and had received a promise that the Kremlin triumvirate, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, would visit Bucharest on July 15 and there finally sign the new treaty of alliance. That treaty had been ready for signing for more than a year. It seemingly constituted a remarkable Rumanian diplomatic victory, by eliminating all reference to "West German revenge-seekers." Bucharest had established good relations with and was receiving important credits from Bonn, and objected to the reference, on which Moscow however had insisted hitherto. The proposed date for the Nixon visit was also ill-chosen because of the Rumanian Communist Congress, whose opening, set long since, was only a day after Nixon's departure from Bucharest. How could one welcome world Communist leaders in a capital where American flags would still be fluttering?

But the Rumanian leaders realized that the Nixon offer was a case of now or never. They okayed it, informing Moscow only afterwards about their decision. And they stood firm, even though the visit of the Soviet troika was cancelled, and though the signing of the document so desired by the Rumanians was postponed *sine die*. They themselves postponed the opening of the Communist Congress. They wanted to keep the Nixon visit cool, in order not to irritate the Soviet leaders, and not to cause too much jealousy among "less fortunate" smaller Communist countries, which the American President did *not* offer to visit. In the final account, they could not, or perhaps they did not want to resist popular pressure. They gave the people of Bucharest American flags to wave. And, when Mr. Nixon placed a hand on Ceausescu's shoulder during the farewell ceremony, both men waved to the applauding crowds. One Communist ambassador exploded: "This is the man [Nixon] who only three days ago was in Saigon. And now those crazy Rumanians are going to kiss him."

Some cynics said the main reason President Nixon came to Bucharest was that his plane needed to refuel on the long flight from Pakistan to England, and that

the President remembered how kindly the Rumanians had received him in March 1967, when the Poles refused him even a visa, and the Russians treated him like an ordinary tourist. It was last February that the Rumanian ambassador invited Mr. Nixon to make another visit; that invitation was extended to the President through Secretary of State Rogers.

But the visit in fact became a kind of intellectual refueling for American policymakers. It showed, first of all, that American prestige and world influence do not depend on the outcome of the battles in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam, but rather on how fast the US gets that load off its back. It also showed that the US cannot hope to solve the great problems of the world bilaterally, with Moscow, because for many peoples and countries the idea of the supremacy of the "haves" of thermonuclear weapons has become as unacceptable as formerly were Hitler's Reich, Stalin's Soviet monolith, and Pax Americana.

Philip Ben

Legal Nonsense

A few years ago, Henry Foster was run over at a street intersection by a pickup truck (hauling drainage equipment) driven by Joe Crowder. Joe was a city employee; and the truck was owned by the City of Atlanta. Foster, a pedestrian, had the right of way according to the traffic control signal. Joe Crowder had little money; he was judgment-proof. So Foster sued the city on the time-honored theory that masters are liable for injuries caused by their servants in the course of their work. But his recovery was denied by the Georgia courts. Judge Homer C. Eberhardt stated the flat principle underlying the court's denial of Foster's cause of action: "In the negligent performance of its governmental duties a municipal corporation is not liable in damages to one who is injured while the municipality is engaged in the performance of such duties."

The city of Fayetteville, North Carolina maintained an open storm-drainage ditch in the Bordeaux section of the town. Last year, several complaints were made to the city that children were playing in and near the hole and that 3½ feet of water had accumulated in it. Nothing was done. Bruce Crayton, aged 2 years 10 months, fell into the ditch and drowned. All recovery by Bruce's family against the city was barred because the law is clear that, in the judge's words, "in establishing a free sewerage system for the public benefit [the municipality] is exercising its police power for the public good . . . and . . . a city in the perform-

ance of its police regulations cannot commit a wrong."

Irealous Walker was a patient in the San Francisco Hospital having her second child. Technicians in the hospital's blood bank and lab negligently administered blood to her and, as a result, she died. Her family sued the city but were denied any recovery. Said Judge Fred B. Wood: "However great the urge may be to find respondent legally obligated to afford some measure of monetary relief to the members of this bereaved family for their tragic and incalculable loss admittedly caused by the negligent act of respondent's employee, a legal basis for such obligation must first be found. . . . Respondent operates this hospital in a governmental capacity and is not liable for the injury of a patient caused by the negligent acts of an employee of respondent."

In each of these three cases the courts were propounding what is now the general rule in most American jurisdictions: state and local governments are immune from responsibility to citizens for the misconduct of their employees. This bizarre notion, so out of keeping with modern American concepts about the role and duties of government, is rooted in the ancient fiction that "the king can do no wrong." It is a monarchical privilege which, basing responsibility on status, should have no place in our society. Nonetheless, this doctrine of sovereign immunity has slipped into American law and has remained the majority rule. It is time it was changed.

Lawyers love to engage in fictions. Some are hard to explain. Some are hard to swallow. But nothing could be harder to say to a client than that he or she is to get no day in court—not that there was no case or that the case was lost, but that the case was not even permitted to be brought—because this person who caused such clear and painful damages "could do no wrong" in the eyes of the law. Nothing could be less apt in a democratic society than a law that takes away some of the people's sovereignty. In delegating powers to their government, Americans would not like to think that they have abdicated their interest in its responsiveness to them. But in the face of popular sentiment against this law, the courts have stated that "change must come from the legislature, if at all," and the legislatures have said "this rule was created by the courts; they should change it if that must be." The losers in this ping-pong match are the unlucky people who are doubly unfortunate: they were hurt; and they were hurt by a government agent.

The realistic, economic rationale for discarding this rule was clearly stated by one enlightened Southern court, which urged that injuries caused by public employees should be a public cost of the administration of the government: "The modern city is in substantial measure a large business institution. While it enjoys many of the basic powers of government, it nonetheless is an incorporated organization for the benefit

of the people within the municipal limits who enjoy the service rendered pursuant to the powers. To continue to endow this type of organization with sovereign divinity appears to us to predicate the law of the twentieth century upon an eighteenth century anachronism. Judicial consistency loses its virtue when it is disregarded by the vice of injustice."

The whole idea is, to me, unconstitutional, unconscionable, outrageous and as Alexander Woolcott might have added, fattening. One lawyer put it this way: "It is as much the duty of government to render prompt justice against itself in favor of citizens as it is to administer the same between private individuals." That was Abraham Lincoln.

Ronald Goldfarb

Community Control: Down But Not Out

by **Joseph Featherstone**

The bill recently enacted by the state legislature in response to New York City's prolonged school crisis is going to prove unworkable. That is what I have been told by partisans of community control, who foresee another year of turmoil. Meanwhile, however, the presidents of the city's five boroughs have named an interim board to preside over the schools until a new central board is elected in May, 1970. This interim board will choose a chancellor to oversee the workings of the mammoth system. It will also draw up the boundaries for 30 to 33 school districts mandated by the legislature, and those boundaries will in part determine what groups control the elected local school boards. That isn't as significant as it might seem, since the local boards will be virtually powerless, and the bizarre procedures for electing them are designed to make it hard for parents, especially black and Puerto Rican parents, to organize school reform slates. Community control supporters will nonetheless try to capture as many of the local boards as they can.

Until the actual lines are drawn, it will be hard to predict how many of the local boards will end up in the hands of community control proponents. Using present school district boundaries and population data, some observers estimate that blacks and Puerto Ricans could make up majorities in 17 out of 30 school districts, or 20 out of 33. With no staff of its own, the interim school board will to some extent be at the mercy of the school system's insiders when it comes to drawing district lines. At this stage of open warfare, the system will undoubtedly do its best to gerrymander district lines to undercut black and Puerto Rican strength; but even the most elaborate gerrymandering will leave at least five or six local district boards in the hands of minority groups. This will mean more of the

same old kinds of trouble in new areas.

The United Federation of Teachers fought successfully to abolish the old board of education, because its members, appointed by Mayor John Lindsay, were in favor of decentralization. There is, however, some chance that the new central board, too, will emerge with a majority in favor of decentralization. Five of its members are to be elected from the boroughs, and two of these – from Manhattan and the Bronx – may for all the union's calculations, turn out to be community control advocates. The two remaining seats will be filled by whoever is elected mayor this fall. If Lindsay is reelected – despite all the odds, and despite the school mess, which has come so close to finishing his political career – then the UFT, to its dismay, will once again face a central board with a slim majority (four to three) in favor of decentralization.

Some of the battles will take place in courts, for the new legislation is riddled with inconsistencies and legal curiosities. I mentioned in my previous article ("Albany Stranglers," July 19) that there will be a string of lawsuits contesting the new election procedures for central and local school boards. Apart from this general assault, which may not get very far, there are smaller legal challenges that may reveal chinks in the massive armor of the system; for example, the absence of criteria as to how many members local school boards should have, or the extreme confusion in the legislation about who is empowered to do what.

One illustration of a potential legal booby trap will have to suffice. The general intention behind the new provisions on promotion and appointments is to freeze the merit lists and block off more appointments of blacks and Puerto Ricans to supervisory positions – principalships and such. The sections of the bill out-

lining new requirements won't take effect until February, 1970. But one careless proviso elsewhere in the bill removes *all* present requirements for supervisory appointments as of the date of the bill's enactment, April 30, 1969. Thus, right now there are in fact no rules in force about appointments. The only restriction is the basic rule that appointments be "competitive, where practicable." This is an odd situation: in theory the central school board could circumvent the legislation by setting up temporary qualifying procedures to appoint any number of black principals between now and February. Clearly the school administration will have to be prodded by lawsuits on behalf of reasonably qualified black and Puerto Rican candidates for principalships. It is a pity that the controversial demonstration districts have been abandoned by the Ford Foundation, because nothing would be more useful and timely than some foundation money for first-class legal advice on this and other points. Lawsuits could be a means of chipping away at some of the more exotic formations in the vast administrative coral reef that has grown up around the city's schools, and effective legal action might also channel increasingly bitter and despairing energies away from the streets and into the courts.

The demonstration districts, which face extinction in February, are not planning to die quietly, or at all. People from Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the IS 201 complex will take a hand in whatever legal battles ensue this fall and will organize for the fights over district boundaries and elections to central and local school boards. A few I spoke with are hoping that the legislature can be persuaded to head off a confrontation in the spring by devising a formula for granting these districts some form of special status and a stay of execution. This hope is not widely shared. There has been talk of using their present demonstration districts as a base from which to take over a local board of one of the new districts created by the legislature. It won't be easy, for each demonstration district has only about a third of the 20,000 pupils required for new districts mandated by the state legislature. Ocean Hill is in the best position to do this, because its surrounding area is largely unorganized, politically and educationally. Those at IS 201, on the other hand, are less confident they can expand their base: that part of Harlem is still a tangle of competing factions, and most are not eager to fall in line behind the leadership of the 201 complex. The third demonstration district, the Two Bridges area in lower Manhattan, is badly split by rivalries and cannot possibly absorb any new factions. All along, this district's racial and ethnic divisions have left things pretty much in the control of the school system.

There is skepticism about whether the effort to expand the districts would be worth it, since the new local districts have no real authority. And in any case,

the main fights are going to shape up over much more fundamental questions. The key issue for the demonstration districts is likely to be retention of their principals, whose positions are all scheduled to be abolished. Here the demonstration districts stand on fairly solid ground, since their appointments have been good. So in the end, the strategy may turn out to be simple: Ocean Hill and IS 201 will demand to keep their principals, and go on into another round of challenges to the school system. They have six months to prepare for the showdown, and when it comes, they will be in possession of the schools.

Everything in New York City seems as tangled as the traffic, so it's hard to separate what is purely local from what has national significance. Certainly one feature of the local background of decentralization has been the unrelenting warfare between the city administration and the rising municipal unions. There are some particular accidents of history, too. The UFT is no longer lean and hungry and struggling for recognition. In earlier days, it is possible that the union might have joined a coalition of the disgruntled to reform the schools; now the union has allied itself with the schools' managers. And throughout this struggle, the UFT has shown vastly more political skill and audacity than its opponents. It dramatized the legitimate concerns of teachers for their rights and personal safety, and effectively, if shortsightedly exploited the mistrust between blacks and Jews that has become one of the uglier facts of life in New York. (Nothing illustrated this better than the furor it stirred up over black anti-Semitism in Ocean Hill, which employs a great many young Jewish teachers.) The city's school crisis has unleashed a good deal of racism pure and simple, and the consequences of this are still unfolding. Established political leaders, used to a liberal setting, have — perhaps only temporarily — lost touch with ordinary voters, and seem unable to speak to their worries. Like Norman Mailer, who once confessed that he was fed up with the blacks and their shenanigans, the common man is tired of hollering. But the hollering won't stop, and increasingly the stage is being set for the terrifying simplifiers.

Part of the confusion here stems from the fact that New York is a literary and publishing center. People here *write*, and on the community control issue they have piled up mountains of polemic and exegesis, broadsides from *Commentary* to refute attacks from *The New York Review of Books*, and so on and on and on. (Maurice Berube and Marilyn Gittell have compiled a good collection of representative pieces for those who have the heart to go through them; it's called *Confrontation at Ocean Hill*.)

But a deeper peculiarity of New York is simply the feverish atmosphere that has prevailed since the teacher strike. Some time ago I went with friends to

a panel discussion at the Ethical Culture Society where, as it turned out, some street theater people made an unscheduled presentation of a pig's head to a representative of the UFT. "That was a very rude interruption," one of the panelists rightly said. Then, turning to the audience, he asked: "Now how many people here think that it was violence?" The question touched off the most amazing spasms of rage. Every chasm separating people was present in that room—race, social class, religion, politics, styles of life, generations. People weren't arguing, they were screaming and

spitting at each other. In everyone's eyes, pro-Yippies and anti-Yippies, the opposition consisted of "Nazis," and whites and blacks alike threw out accusations of genocide. There are, I kept telling myself, real issues beneath all the frenzy, but the frenzy, too, is an important part of what's happening in New York.

This is the second of three reports by MR. FEATHERSTONE on the rise and fall of New York City's experiment with community control of schools. The final article will speculate on the future of decentralization.

Nixon's Antitrust Policy

Wall Street and William Jennings Bryan

by William F. Baxter

The most notable characteristic of the Nixon Administration's antitrust policy has been a predominant concern—I regard it as an obsession—with conglomerate mergers. President Nixon's antitrust officials, Assistant Attorney General Richard McLaren and Attorney General John Mitchell, both have shown a real interest in antitrust: they appear to be genuinely dedicated to maintaining competitive markets and do not seem to regard past judicial pronouncements on these subjects as the last word. The opposition of the Department of Justice to the newspaper merger bill pending in Congress and to the FCC's persistent efforts to protect television interests from the salutary competition of CATV warrants commendation. And McLaren's recent promise to attack patent licensing practices that effectively parcel out monopoly positions to licensees is a welcome thrust at strongholds of cartelization.

Those bright spots notwithstanding, antitrust attacks on conglomerate mergers seem to preoccupy the department. I do not wish to leave the impression, by attacking that preoccupation, that I believe giant, diversified firms are uniformly of great social utility, or that I think their present size and number is harmless. On the contrary, unwise government policies—primarily tax policies—encourage the formation of such enterprises in far greater numbers than make economic sense; the resultant economic losses are substantial, and those policies should be changed. But antitrust assault on conglomerate mergers is a waste

of government resources, diverts the energies of the antitrust division from its vital tasks, diverts public attention and the government from the actual causes and actual harms of conglomeration, and, ironically, will block many mergers that would advance the purposes of competitive markets.

The first thing to get straight is what we mean by merger types. Mergers are typically divided into categories: horizontal, vertical and conglomerate; and pure examples of each are quite clear. A merger between two firms, each of which is engaged in selling the same type of product to the same general group of customers in the same geographic region is a *horizontal* merger. A *vertical* merger is the joining of firms that, prior to merger, were related to each other as supplier and customer. The clearest example of a *conglomerate* merger would involve a combination of two firms that never before were and probably never would in the future, had the merger not occurred, be either in a buyer-seller relationship or in direct competition as sellers of the same type of product. But these prototypes obviously don't cover all situations. For example, how shall we classify a merger between two brewers of beer, one of which sells only in New England, the other selling only in the Great Lakes region? The companies aren't now competing; accordingly, some would call the merger conglomerate. If the merger did not occur, however, geographic extension by either would bring it into direct competition with the other; and in a given case such a sales area extension may be probable if the merger is thwarted. To the extent that the companies are potentially, direct competitors, it

WILLIAM F. BAXTER is professor of law at Stanford Law School.

may be more useful to classify this merger as a sub-type of horizontal: the merger will eliminate the possibility of subsequent direct competition between the firms. Arguably it should be forbidden so that the future possibility will not be irrevocably lost, for surely the companies will never compete if the merger is permitted.

How one classifies mergers that don't fit neatly into our three pigeonholes is not of great importance, provided one recognizes their existence. The potential competition that such mergers eliminate is an important consideration; there will be cases in which such mergers should be blocked on that ground. If one labels all such mergers as conglomerate, however, thus using the term as a residual category embracing all mergers not purely vertical or horizontal, then it follows that *some* conglomerate mergers have adverse effects on potential competition and should be prohibited. I don't quarrel with Mitchell and McLaren over mergers that pose *that* issue of competition. I criticize the stated intention of the Nixon Administration to attack mergers that are pure examples of the conglomerate type. Of course if one takes a wildly expansive view of potential competition, one could argue that every company of significant size is a *potential* competitor of every other such company; but Mitchell and McLaren have not tried to base their assault on this reduction to the absurd. The reasons they have advanced, however, seem to me no more persuasive.

Before explaining why, let me go back to the good and bad effects that mergers may have; for those effects should be the wellsprings of our legal policy. There are three reasons why it would be bad policy to forbid all mergers. (1) From the standpoint of those selling out, a merger represents a way of exiting from an industry – often it is the only practicable way. One or several men may start and build up a new company; then with advancing age they often wish to shift their stake to investments requiring less personal supervision, to lessen risk by diversifying, or to provide more liquid and easily managed investments for their family survivors. Wholly apart from solicitude for such persons, it is economically important that there be practicable ways for them to “cash out”: easy exit from an industry significantly lessens the risk of, and thus encourages, initial entry into the industry. Few would enter a poker game if chips could never be cashed in. Overly stringent merger rules thus will curb the birthrate of new companies; and new companies are a vital source of technological innovation and competitive vigor. (2) Mergers permit companies to grow rapidly when that is necessary in order to achieve cost reductions that are obtainable only with large size. It is true that these efficiencies could eventually be achieved by internal growth; but growth is a slow process, and the interim losses of efficiency – losses

not just to the owners but to the entire society – are irrevocable. (3) Third, and probably most important in the present context, is that mergers permit removal of the facilities of a company from the control of unimaginative or lazy or corrupt management. Once the shareholdings in a corporation become thoroughly fragmented, as they are in most large corporations today, internal shareholder revolt against the hired management is a merely theoretical possibility. The threat of take-over by another corporation that will bring in better management, cost-reducing organization, and new technologies, and which will thus be able to compete more vigorously and produce higher earnings is of great importance to our present economy. *It is the only competitive threat that the managers of many large corporations face as individuals.* The risk of take-over affords external assurance that the managers will not enjoy an early, unofficial retirement and slowly consume the assets under their control. The “corporate raider,” like the price-cutter, is loathed by staid, traditional corporate managers; and apparently Mitchell and McLaren absorbed that point of view in their prior environment of corporate representation. But by the general public, the raider should be regarded as a national hero.

If mergers were not artificially encouraged by unwise government policies, then in my opinion there would be only one reason why they should often be prohibited: they may cause critical reductions in the number of firms competing in a given market. If 20 firms are in direct competition, efficient operation and socially optimum price levels are probable; if there are only two such firms, both economic theory and empiric data suggest that socially efficient operation is unlikely. That horizontal mergers reduce the number of competitors is plain. Vertical mergers may do so in a less obvious way: if a large lumber milling enterprise buys up a substantial fraction of all timber-cutting enterprises (its suppliers) or all lumber distributors (its customers), then it may be able to deprive other mills of supplies or of sales outlets and thus squeeze out some of its competitors. But the pure conglomerate merger has no such effect: market structures are the same after the merger as they were before.

Since conglomerate mergers can and often do have the desirable effects I've described and characteristically lack the one adverse competitive effect, the hostility toward them of this Republican administration is puzzling. I turn to a recent speech of Attorney General Mitchell's, delivered to a bar association in Savannah, Georgia, for explanation of the reasons Mitchell and McLaren have offered for their odd pre-occupation.

Mr. Mitchell made several points with which I have no factual quarrel. He noted accurately that, viewing the mergers that occur in any given year as a group, conglomerate mergers represent a much higher

percentage and horizontal and vertical mergers represent a much lower percentage of that group, than in earlier years. This isn't surprising. In the legally permissive era that prevailed until 1950 and died slowly thereafter, horizontals and verticals naturally predominated. The severe legal restraint on those mergers more recently compels those seeking the advantages of merger to take the conglomerate route.

Mr. Mitchell then noted that the dollar value of assets acquired in mergers, in absolute numbers of dollars, has been rising rapidly. This too, is not surprising. Just as birth or death or marriage numbers rise with rising population, so will merger numbers.

The fact that a higher percentage of all industrial assets is now in the hands of the 200 largest firms was also mentioned: over the last 20 years that percentage has increased, about one-half of one percent a year on the average, from 48 to 58 percent. This, Mr. Mitchell described as "super-concentration" of great danger. The figure is a legitimate measure of a *type* of concentration; but it is a type of concentration with no obvious relation to the vigor of competition. Asset concentration is relevant to competition only if large size, itself, is an evil; and Mr. Mitchell did not argue that it was.

Finally Mr. Mitchell noted, and I agree, that mergers "do not necessarily" increase efficiency or innovation. But many mergers *do* yield important efficiencies. The trick is to separate the good from the bad.

In short, the Attorney-General's speech was in large part a populist tirade on the evils of large corporate size, with the implication that conglomerate mergers were the demon. The ghost of Williams Jennings Bryan hovered over Savannah as Mitchell asserted that conglomerate mergers would deprive its "businessmen . . . [of] the opportunity to be suppliers . . . its lawyers . . . [of] the opportunity to act as counsel . . . and its unions . . . [of] the opportunity of negotiating in their own community." That is pure bunk: billion-dollar conglomerates, like the \$10-million enterprises they acquire, buy from the cheapest source of supply, which generally means local sources if available, retain local counsel for local problems and specialized "big city" firms for highly specialized problems, and bargain with the local of the national union that confronts their particular industry in every hamlet.

For a portion of his speech the Attorney General did address himself to issues that are relevant to the problems posed by conglomerate mergers: "A . . . danger in the conglomerate merger movement is the elimination of potential competition." Particular mergers may significantly diminish potential competition, and such mergers, I agree, should be blocked.

Mr. Mitchell's principal argument, and the principal argument in prior Justice Department statements, was the following: "One of the . . . dangers posed by

conglomerate mergers is reciprocity." Reciprocity is the practice of channeling purchases to those firms which, in purchasing their own supplies, buy from you. The practice is a symptom, not a cause, of inadequately competitive markets. When it occurs, it is either a petty form of favoritism, analogous to nepotism, or covert competition in markets where open competition has been thwarted. Modest devotion of resources to stop the cases of favoritism might be warranted, if they could be distinguished from cases of covert competition; but they are difficult to distinguish. The best way to treat the symptom is to cure the disease: too few sellers competing in particular product markets. Wholesale blockage of conglomerate mergers for the purpose of avoiding new opportunities for reciprocity would be insane: it would be hunting house flies with an elephant gun.

The other two "dangers of conglomerates" mentioned by the Attorney General, volume discounts and "community of interest," are analogous to "reciprocity." Both are symptoms of monopoly power, which exists independently of the conglomerate merger involved. If both symptoms could somehow be suppressed, the underlying difficulty of market power would show itself in some different form, perhaps more rather than less harmful. And one of the two "evils" — the advantage that large firms may derive from the availability of volume discounts on their purchases — is not an evil but a factor of great social utility if the discount reflects, as it often does, a cost saving to the seller because he's dealing in large volumes.

In short, Mr. Mitchell's justification for a wholesale assault on conglomerate mergers, although it represented a distillation of the best justifications that McLaren has offered on earlier occasions, is wholly inadequate and presages waste of antitrust resources and higher real prices for everyone.

If I attribute the best of motives to the officials of the Nixon Administration, I conclude that their error is a basic and familiar one. Traditional populism views preservation of the corner drugstore as a legally separate entity as an end in itself. If the large drug chain or the discount house, free of state handicaps, could serve the people at lower prices and thus threaten the independent existence of the corner drugstore, then the role of the state was to impose sufficient handicaps to prevent realization of that threat. In economic terms, an excise tax was to be imposed on the products involved in order to finance an invisible welfare system for small proprietors.

The Wall Street populism of the Nixon Administration differs only in its objects of government charity: it represents an excise tax on goods to subsidize the lifestyle of top executives of "small" industries. The forces of competition must not be permitted to convert these staunch but defenseless souls, struggling along on per-

haps as little as \$40,000 a year, into "faceless" middle-management of larger enterprises.

To appreciate fully that this is the consequence of blocking mergers that do not impair competition in any product market, we should ponder seriously this question: who other than management of the acquired company would benefit from the blockage? If the merger occurs, life on the production line or in the secretarial pool goes on as before – and there may be pay raises if the particular merger has yielded efficiencies. As many people will be employed as before – probably more if efficiencies are achieved, for output will increase. The foremen, sales force and supervisors all had at least one "boss" before; they will have a more intricate hierarchy above them now, but bosses more than one hierarchical step away don't much matter. Consumers get the same product as before – cheaper if efficiencies have been achieved. Communities collect the same taxes before – more if employment and output have been increased. Look at Mr. Mitchell's primary argument against conglomerates in context: suppose that the production process requires a supply of widgets, that there are several potential suppliers, and that reciprocity leads to purchases from X rather than the old supplier, Y. Someone heretofore bought his widgets from X; unless X is more efficient than Y (which impairs the reciprocity explanation for the shift), then Y should now be able to capture that someone's business, for X can't significantly change his output overnight without incurring higher costs. Reciprocity is a paper tiger. Most shareholders are happy; they made the decision to sell. Only the position of former top management is likely to be changed significantly.

These beneficial consequences are far less likely to occur if there are artificial incentives to achieve the merger. In the case of a horizontal merger, the diminution of competition often constitutes such an incentive: even if the acquiring company will administer the assets of the acquired company somewhat less efficiently than former management did, those losses may be outweighed by the private gain yielded by monopoly. But where such artificial private gains are absent, only the expectation that greater efficiencies can be achieved justifies an offer to purchase at a price as high or higher than the value attached to the firm by its prior owners. There is no guarantee that the acquirers are correct in their expectation of achieving greater efficiency; but they will incur losses to the extent of their error and will not survive many such errors.

I earlier expressed the opinion that unwise government policies were encouraging the uneconomic formation of conglomerate firms by providing just such artificial incentives. Some examples: (1) Dividend distributions to shareholders do not constitute tax deductions for corporations, but interest payments on bonds do.

If one company acquires another by exchanging bonds for the outstanding shares of the other, the aggregate tax obligation of the expanded conglomeration will be less than the sum of separate tax obligations of the two former companies. (A bill introduced in Congress this year, if passed, would partially correct this abuse.) (2) Shareholders must pay ordinary income tax on dividends, but they pay capital gains tax on increases in share value. Capital gains taxes are much lower than income taxes, and they are not paid as the gain occurs but only later, and without accrued interest, when the shares are sold. No tax is paid at all if the shareholder dies. The uneconomic disparity between these types of taxes creates strong incentives for corporations to retain and reinvest earnings, thus increasing share prices, rather than pay dividends. If the corporation's original industry is not growing enough to justify rapid expansion by the company within that industry, it invests by conglomeration across industry lines, converting itself into what we might call a managed mutual fund. That practice also enables the stockholder to avoid paying brokerage fees that he would have to pay if he reinvested dividend payments, fees not determined by competition but by stock exchange price-fixing, legalized by the Securities and Exchange Commission, at levels high enough to shelter gross inefficiencies in the brokerage industry. (3) A third artificial incentive derives from a practice of financial reporting that apparently deceives many naive or merely careless investors. Conglomerate Company C issues convertible debentures in exchange for the shares of Acquired Corporation A. A's earnings now become C's earnings, but A's shares have disappeared and there are no more *shares* outstanding than C had outstanding before the merger. C now reports higher earnings-per-share than were earned previously; and C ignores, or footnotes in microscopic type, the fact that the convertible debentures may be converted into shares at any moment, thus abruptly reducing the earnings-per-share ratio. Many investors attach uncritical significance to the reported ratio and tend to bid up share prices to inflated levels. Management may then sell their own "stock-option" shares at high profits (taxed as capital gains, of course), or they may use the inflated shares for swapping purposes in the next conglomerate acquisition.

Thus there are various artificial incentives for conglomerate mergers, and no doubt mergers occur that cannot be justified by the prospect of achieving efficiencies. Sound government policy would eliminate those incentives and thus halt such mergers. But Mr. Mitchell's antitrust blunderbuss will halt good and bad alike. The results will be higher prices for consumers, tranquil enclaves for corporate managers and, no doubt, a glowing trustbuster image for the Nixon Administration among those unable to distinguish sound and fury from sound policy.

Will the Communist Giants Fight Each Other?

China and The USSR On the Brink

by Neville Maxwell

China and the Soviet Union are on the brink of a border war. If such a conflict begins it is almost inevitable that it will escalate, and both sides have stated that they will use nuclear weapons. The world thus stands nearer to nuclear war than it has done since the Cuba confrontation of 1962 – and yet there is very little alarm about this prospect.

The territorial question was introduced into the Sino-Soviet dispute at the end of 1962 by Khrushchev, when, hitting back at Peking's criticism of his aborted Cuba venture, he taunted the Chinese for allowing such "fragments of colonialism" as Hong Kong and Macao to survive on their soil. In riposte, the Chinese said, in effect; "Speaking of colonialism – what about the Tsars, who annexed huge areas of China and rammed treaties down our throats to legalize their theft?" Thereafter, Sino-Russian boundaries bulked steadily larger in the ideological diatribes between Moscow and Peking, and in March this year sharp fighting broke out over a tiny island in the Ussuri, one of the border rivers. There had been numerous such incidents before, it appears, but they had been hushed up by both sides; now Moscow trumpeted the fighting to the world, and accused Peking of armed provocation. The Chinese have been depicted as reckless and determined expansionists. The truth is that China's approach to the boundary problem has been careful – it might even be called restrained and reasonable.

The historical origins of the Sino-Russian boundaries are undisputed. Russia's great eastward thrust of expansion, across the Urals and along the Siberian river system, brought her to the Pacific seaboard in the mid-17th century. Then the trappers and traders turned south, with the Tsar's flag not far behind them, and moved into territory which the Manchu

rulers of China regarded as their own. By and large, the Manchus held them back for 200 years; but in the middle of the 19th century the Russians renewed their thrust to the south, taking advantage of China's weakness as other European powers were doing. They annexed all the territory north of the Amur river and east of its tributary, the Ussuri, founding Vladivostok and cutting off China from the Sea of Japan. The loss of that huge area was accepted by China in the treaties of Aigun (1858) and Peking (1860).

At the same time, Russia was grinding into China in Central Asia. As a further consequence of the Treaty of Peking and of a later treaty at St. Petersburg, China lost territory on her western frontier, in what is now Sinkiang; some put the loss at 350,000 square miles.

In the first fine, careless rapture of revolutionary purity the Bolsheviks' impulse was to return to China, "free of charge and forever, all that was ravenously taken from her by the Tsar's government and the Russian bourgeoisie," as the Soviet Government expressed it in the Karakhan manifesto of 1920. But there were hasty second thoughts, and the Soviet Union backed away from any idea of territorial redistribution. The boundaries stayed on the Amur and Ussuri in the east, and where the Treaty of St. Petersburg had placed them in the West. For most of their length, however, these Western boundaries were never demarcated (i.e. marked out on the ground). Furthermore, the verbal definition of these boundaries in the treaties was often vague, and always based upon rudimentary surveys.

The eastern boundaries, lying for most of their length on two great rivers, were clear in their general alignment. But riverine boundaries are peculiarly productive of disputes in any circumstances, and a new and detailed treaty defining the precise alignment of the boundary in the rivers and providing for the regulation of traffic, Customs, water-rights, etc., is an obvious necessity.

Through the first half of this century, nationalists in China nourished a vague claim to the lost lands,

NEVILLE MAXWELL was the Times (London) Correspondent in South Asia 1959-'67 and is now a senior fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

but the Communists took a more pragmatic approach. To hanker after Chinese irredentas might have gratified nationalist sensibilities, but it would have impeded the work in hand inside China, and moreover would have brought the new regime into intractable disputes with all its neighbors – it was not only the Russians who had taken bites out of China in her years of weakness. Perhaps consoling themselves with a thought that Chou En-lai expressed to Nehru – “China has [still] a vast expanse of territory, more than half of which is sparsely populated” – the Chinese decided to settle boundaries with their neighbors on the basis of the status quo.

They made one stipulation, however: the boundaries must be renegotiated. The old, “unequal” treaties, reminders of China’s generation of humiliation at the hands of the imperialists, must be replaced by new boundary agreements, negotiated between equals. Until that was done, all boundaries would be regarded as not formally delimited. In the meantime, however, China would respect the status quo; and Peking made it clear that insistence on renegotiating the boundaries was not at all the same thing as insistence on changing them.

The Chinese approach has been stated to Moscow repeatedly and clearly. China is ready to respect the 19th century treaties and make them the basis for a mutually acceptable settlement of the boundaries but “any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of the treaties must, in principle, return it wholly and unconditionally to the other side, and this brooks no ambiguity.” In other words, the Russians can’t have it both ways. If the old treaties are to be the basis of settlement, the Soviet Union cannot claim a legal right to “territory which it occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties.” The Chinese intimate, however, that they will not insist on the return of all territory thus occupied, when they say that it must *in principle* be returned. In some areas Soviet occupation of territory beyond that to which the treaties entitle them must by now be so entrenched as to make its return to China impracticable; Peking’s approach in other border negotiations suggests that China would be prepared to cede such areas to the Soviet Union, in return for areas elsewhere on the

border which could be transferred with less disruption.

Five of China’s neighbors accepted her approach to the problem of the borders as a reasonable context for negotiation, and concluded mutually satisfactory and amicable treaties. These, with marginal adjustments by agreement, confirmed the boundaries sought by the countries concerned – Burma, Outer Mongolia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Nepal. Two of her neighbors, however, have refused to adopt that approach to settlement; India, and now the Soviet Union. Both those governments maintain that their boundaries with China are already defined; as the Russians put it, “clearly and precisely determined by treaties, protocols and maps.” The Russians deny that the 19th century border treaties were “unequal,” and declare that “there is no territorial question between the Soviet Union and China. On those grounds, Moscow refuses to enter into comprehensive boundary negotiations, and is prepared to do no more than “discuss the question of specifying the frontier line over individual stretches.”

To the Chinese government that amounts to saying, “There is nothing to discuss except what we agree to discuss.” In practice, it would mean that Moscow would decide which “individual stretches” of the boundaries need “specifying,” and that China would have to accept whatever crumbs of compromise might be offered in that narrowed context. It is an approach wholly unacceptable to the Chinese. As they said: “The days when the Chinese people can be bossed around are gone forever.”

Khrushchev used to say that there was never reason for boundary disputes to lead to fighting; that given goodwill and common sense on both sides, all such questions could be resolved peacefully. Chou En-lai, asked about the Sino-Soviet borders by an American correspondent in 1960, replied: “There is a very small discrepancy on maps, and it is very easy to settle,” adding, “I am sorry to disappoint you.” But when a conference on the borders began in Peking in 1964, relationships between China and the USSR were already far gone in animosity deriving from their ideological falling out; the negotiations broke down almost immediately. Each side blamed the other for the failure, but in fact that was inherent in the situation; as was the case when Chou En-lai went to New Delhi in 1960 to try to settle with Nehru, it was not so much a matter of the negotiations failing, as that they could not begin. The two sides started from entirely different premises. The deadlock was complete.

By all the signs, it still is. The Soviet Union has proposed that the negotiations broken off in 1964 should be resumed within the next two or three months, in Moscow; but has reaffirmed that the purpose of the negotiations can only be to “discuss the question of specifying the frontier line over individual stretches.” It is to be expected that China will agree to another round of talks; and she has declared that on

COMING: Zalin B. Grant

writes from India about
population control

the premise that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are taken as the basis, necessary adjustments at individual places on the boundary can be made in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. But, the Chinese went on, "it is absolutely impermissible to take such a truculent attitude, that what the Tsars occupied is yours, and what you want to occupy is yours, too".

Much of the great length of the Sino-Soviet boundaries runs through wilderness still, and boundaries could be shifted there in search of compromise without material loss to either side. A mediator might help; Pakistan, a friend of both disputants, is about the only country in a position to play the part — Pakistan's own boundary settlement with China is a model. But goodwill and confidence are wholly lacking, the relationships between China and the USSR are envenomed and tense at every level. The prospect is that the next attempt to reach an understanding will fail, as did the last. What then?

The borders would continue live and explosive, with the likelihood that sooner or later skirmishing would escalate into war. Both sides would have to maintain a permanent state of military readiness, which would be destructive for both of them. With a negotiated settlement ruled out, another way would be bound to suggest itself — a heavy and decisive military blow.

Four times in the past 40 years, massive military force has been used to end disputes and pacify the borders of the USSR and China. In 1929, the Soviet Army crossed the Amur river, destroyed a Nationalist Chinese force, and then withdrew to its own territory; in 1938 at Lake Khasan, near Vladivostok, and again in 1939 on the Mongolian border, the Soviet Army similarly engaged and defeated the Japanese. In 1962, China threw in her army to crush the Indians' attempt to infiltrate Chinese-held territory, and enforce the compromise settlement which the Indian Government had rejected.

The key to success in these operations was quick and overwhelming victory in the field, enabling the victor to withdraw unharassed, and putting an end to the challenge of the vanquished. That China could mount such an operation against the Soviet Union is out of the question; and it must be said that China used force against India only after repeated warnings that the Indians' deliberate advance would provoke retaliation. But what about the Soviet Union? She has the military and air power to deliver a massive blow against China: strength enough, the Russians might think, to make such a blow decisive. Czechoslovakia showed that, for the men in the Kremlin, the Soviet Army is there to be used. It would certainly be surprising, therefore, if there were in Moscow no advocates of a preemptive blow to put China in her place

before she further develops her nuclear capacity.

In March a Moscow broadcast to China, in Chinese, gave a "solemn warning to the Chinese working people." It pointed out that missiles with nuclear warheads of unlimited destructive power were the main weapons of the Soviet armed forces, and threatened that if it came to war millions of Chinese would die. It cited the immense firepower and high mobility of the Soviet Army, which would be able to cut into China and take the Chinese forces from the rear. Against this nuclear saber-rattling the Chinese have quoted Mao: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked we will certainly counter-attack . . ."; "... we don't want to fight even for a single day, but if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish." The Chinese Army is believed to have some tactical nuclear weapons, probably still only a handful compared to the three or four hundred reported to be with the Soviet Army in the east. China has stated that while she will never be the first to use nuclear weapons, she will use them if they are used against her; but the Chinese still have to put their faith in manpower — as they put it, "not iron and steel and not pillboxes, but men armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and proletarian consciousness." The Chinese, like anybody else, tend to make a virtue out of necessity, and until they have more tactical nuclear weapons there is nothing they can do but rely on their large army, and the high morale that might be expected of it when fighting the Russians on Chinese soil.

That the Soviet Union's undoubted technical superiority over China would be sufficient for her to launch and quickly win a war is questionable. Superiority in the air, in firepower and mobility on the ground, in nuclear weapons; these would enable the Russians to deliver a fearful blow. But the Russians would this time be facing an enemy who enjoyed just those advantages that in the past have made Russia so formidable an enemy — huge numbers, and vast reserves of space. The Red Army knows by heart, no doubt, the way into Manchuria it took in 1945; an enormous pincer attack from east and west, meeting at Ha-erh-pin (Harbin) and Shen-yang (Mukden). In 1945, however, the Russians outnumbered by four or five to one a poorly equipped Japanese army, and the Chinese masses, not to mention the Communists, were with them; this time they would be outnumbered and faced by a hostile populace. If nuclear weapons were used, the Chinese might sever the two-line railway that is the main link between the Soviet Maritime Province and the Russian heartland.

But the question that has to be answered is not so much whether Russian military strength is sufficient to win a quick victory, but whether it is sufficient to persuade *the Kremlin* that a quick victory can be won — and Moscow's handling of the border dispute is ominously suggestive that they might believe just that.

Stanley Kauffmann: The Man Who Couldn't Work Miracles

H. G. Wells: His Turbulent Life and Times by Lovat Dickson

(Atheneum: \$10.00)

H. G. Wells was the subject of my first critical essay, published in 1940. He was in New York at the time, and I sent him a copy. He replied promptly and courteously, and I can still remember my feelings when I saw my name in his handwriting.

Partly those feelings were hero worship. My article had been about Wells's decline as a leader of youth, his relation to the (then) New Generation to which I belonged; I thought that the force of his arguments and the thrust of his hopes would outlast temporary neglect. But I also felt an immediate contradiction. In the month in which Hitler took Paris I had a letter from a man born in 1866 who had built much of his lifework on reasoned change.

Contradiction attends any biography, but with Wells it is sharpened to an unusual pitch. Lovat Dickson's new book confirms this, sometimes unwittingly. Excluding the autobiography, this is the fourth life of Wells I have read and the liveliest since the one by Geoffrey West published in 1930. (No, there is a fifth, for young readers, just issued by Pantheon: *I Told You So!* by James Playsted Wood.) Dickson himself states that this is neither a full-scale biography nor a critique, that it is, in effect, an interim work before we get the definitive life being written by Gordon Ray out of the Wells letters and papers at the University of Illinois. Dickson was for many years an editor and director of Macmillan (London), "had been indirectly connected with most of [Wells's] published work, and had access to the correspondence that arose, particularly that covering the most dramatic years of his climb to fame—1905-1915." Dickson also had "confidences later given me by his friends." His study is mainly of those years when Wells was "turning away from the certain prospects of a successful career as a highly popular novelist to become a prophet and teacher. . . ."

Since his book was not intended to be complete, it might have been better to omit the skimpy treatment of the years after 1915. The coda wags weakly, particularly compared with the extensive account of Wells's background and upbringing and his several false starts. Dickson's chronicle of Wells's indefatigable sex life is the most complete yet published. The record of Wells's relation with Frederick Macmillan is interesting, not because of the publisher's predictable Edwardian prissiness but because of both the stubbornness and shrewdness in Wells. Dickson has sympathy and an admirer's disappointments. But he has become infected with Wells's virus of contradictions: some of his conclusions go against the tenor of his own book and some of his opinions are, to put it politely, vulnerable.

He is good on Wells's beginnings. It is central to an understanding of this man who, in V. S. Pritchett's words, "had more influence on individual lives than any writer of his time," to realize that he was the son of a servant. When, as a youth, Wells went to visit his mother at the stately home where she was housekeeper, it was a matter of servants' entrances and meals below stairs. (All commemorated in *Tono-Bungay*.) Few present-day white Americans can really appreciate what that meant, though of course many blacks can. Education was not mere vocational training to Wells, it was a way to selfhood, and scientific education seemed most apposite as a way to right inequities and achieve a rational future for man. But here is his first major contradiction. The alternative to educating himself out of his inferior status was, to his adolescent mind, suicide; yet, says Dickson, "he was not a natural student. . . . He had the vision, but not the capacity for detailed work; his imagination was creative, not analytical." After several disasters, he got a degree at London University at age

twenty-four. (At seventy-six, as Dickson does not tell us, he got a doctorate in science at the same university: not honorary, he earned it with a thesis.)

His creative imagination eventually began to exploit the scientific training—mainly biology, zoology, and geology—in the scientific romances, which some critics, such as Bernard Bergonzi in *The Early H. G. Wells*, consider his best fiction. Another contradiction: although he had science training, these books were fantasies. He was immediately compared with Jules Verne, but as Verne said and as Wells later admitted, his books were not based on fact or possibility. I have just looked again through one of them—naturally I picked *The First Men on the Moon!*—and it has absolutely no relation to what has happened in space travel or discovery. Essentially, it is a vehicle for philosophic, not scientific prediction. As his son Anthony West has said:

There is no possibility of misunderstanding the description of lunar society which appears towards the end of *The First Men on the Moon*. The unfettered intellect rules, and respect for efficiency stands in the place of morality. . . . If a mechanistic view of the universe is constructed by the right hand, the left will inevitably loose its grip on any ethical system it may have decided to grasp.

Wells's imagination was evidently also much involved in his hyperactive sex life. His sexual activity seems to have been part of his quest for selfhood: a lifelong attempt to recompense himself for early frustrations, to wreck Victorian codes, to achieve romantic ideals, and to wreak revenge on sex itself for its failure to fulfill those ideals. His adolescent dreams were unfulfilled by his first marriage (1891) to a sweet repressed girl, and he married

someone who promised more (1895). Yet – another contradiction – he insists in his autobiography that “the sexual element in this shift of desire was very small.” A few years later he and his second wife, in order to make this marriage last (as it did), made an arrangement to give them both sexual freedom, which of course meant to give him freedom. In 1951 I visited a lady in Hampstead, and when I envied her living in that attractive part of London, she sighed and said, “Yes, but one is rather surrounded by ex-mistresses of H. G. Wells.” Dickson writes more fully than others have of these amours, particularly of the affairs with Amber Reeves and Rebecca West, by each of whom Wells had a child. But, at its best, Dickson’s tone is one of forgiveness.

Inevitably Wells was attracted to socialism. Many others were, too, and this phenomenon is superficially described by Dickson:

The end of the Boer War, and a growing feeling of disenchantment with the two main political parties, a desire to be modern and “with it” that comes over society now and then – all these things had contributed to the growth of a middle-class interest in socialism.

He thus disregards his own earlier statement that the poor in London at that time “lived in circumstances of savage poverty unequalled in any other European city, and knew a standard of eating which was lower than at any time since the Middle Ages.” It seems just possible that these facts affected the increasingly educated middle class more than a desire to be “with it.”

Wells joined the Fabian Society in 1903, had a violent quarrel with it in 1906, and resigned from it in 1908, yet – another contradiction – he had a great deal to do with its increased influence. It may not be quite accurate to say, as Dickson does, that “if Wells had not blown in, the Society would have languished unnoticed by the wider world,” but the secretary, Edward R. Pease, subsequently stated that “the propagandist enthusiasm of Mr. Wells and the glamour of his name had helped to attract a large number of distinguished people to our ranks.”

His ambivalent relation with Bernard Shaw dates from this Fabian quarrel. He had met Shaw during his own brief stint as a drama critic in 1895, and

had grown edgy about him, basically, I think, resenting the fact that a man with no scientific education – in fact, almost no formal education at all – was being taken seriously on social and political matters; was indeed scoring points over him. To Wells, Shaw *had* to be a clever butterfly. The angrier he got, in this Fabian dispute and in others, the more urbane Shaw got, and thus the more unfairly inferior and angry Wells felt.

Dickson comes down very heavily on Wells’s side. (The book’s silliest comment: “Wells had what was withheld from Shaw, an original and rich creative imagination.”) Wells eventually rejected socialism to construct his plans for a world state run by a spiritual-intellectual order of new Samurai; Shaw went on from Fabianism to his wrongheaded, naughty-boy adulation of Stalin. The disputes continued, and Dickson says, “One sympathizes with Wells; he had suffered much from the stings of this gadfly all his life.” Yet the anger had been all one way, sometimes in violent vituperation from Wells. Even after Shaw’s death, an obituary of him appeared, written by

Wells at a newspaper’s invitation a few years before his own death, which was, in Anne Fremantle’s phrase, “an uncivil blast, like a fart from a corpse.” Still in 1934 Wells had said:

I liked [Shaw] with a liking that has lasted a life-time. . . . We found ourselves antagonistic on a number of issues and though we were not quite enough in the same field nor near enough in age to be rivals, there was, from my side at any rate, a certain emulation between us.

Dickson does not quote this.

No question that Wells was a testy man, only fitfully charming and not utterly reliable in friendship. His notorious attack on Henry James is still something of a surprise, if not a mystery. (The correspondence between them appears in a volume edited by Leon Edel and Gordon Ray.) When Wells was a drama critic, he wrote one of the adverse notices of James’s play *Guy Domville*, whose failure was one of the great blows of its author’s life. Yet three years later (1898) James came to visit the sick Wells as an emis-

ONE TOO MANY IS TOO MANY.



Beam's Choice is a very good Bourbon. (We should know—we've been making Bourbon since 1795.)

We age it for eight years. And charcoal filter it after aging.

The result is about as close to perfect as anybody's going to get.

So sip it. And savor it.

But whatever you do don't guzzle it down.

EIGHT YEARS OLD. 86 PROOF. KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY DISTILLED AND BOTTLED BY THE JAMES B. BEAM DISTILLING CO., CLERMONT, BEAM, KENTUCKY.

Now in paperback —
the National
Book Award winner

DEATH IN LIFE

SURVIVORS OF HIROSHIMA

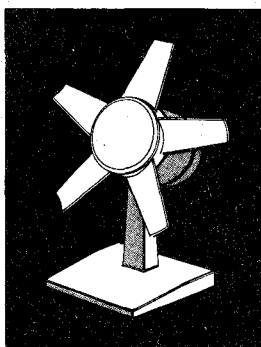
By ROBERT JAY LIFTON

"One of those rare works
destined to bear witness and
change the lives of those who
read it."

—SAUL MALOFF, *Newsweek*



\$2.95, now at your bookstore
VINTAGE BOOKS
A division of Random House



LITTLE "BLOW HARD"...

is what irreverent, but delighted customers call our new **DESIGNER'S FAN**. ■ Only 7" tall (6" across blades) this Italian import moves an astonishing amount of air. Solid, hi-impact plastic body. Extra-soft blades can't hurt baby or pet! Use it on table or wall. Noiseless, 110v motor runs continuously without heating. ■ If this fan can keep things cooled down in very sunny Italy, just think what it can do for you!

☐ Send me the new **DESIGNER'S FAN**. I encl. \$13.95 (\$12.95 plus \$1 post. & ins.) 1 yr. Guarantee. Return in 10 days if not delighted. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

584 Washington,
San Francisco, 94111

haverhill's

TNR-0816

sary of the Royal Literary Fund to inquire discreetly whether help was needed. They became friends. James introduced him to other literary figures and often wrote him cordially—and perceptively—about his new books. Then in *Boon* (1915) Wells suddenly delivered a scathing attack on James that shook the older man profoundly. They did not become enemies; James's code and nature did not allow for enemies; but they were hardly close friends again. Several speculations have been made for the attack, and Dickson, who explores this episode at length, cites them; but possibly it was simply in the contradictory nature of Wells to upset whatever was settled. There is a further curiosity. Just at the time he was writing *Boon*, he was beginning his long affair with Rebecca West, and she was writing her first book, a very respectful study of James! Dickson asks:

How could two lovers, sharing a home, both so highly intelligent, hold such diametrically opposed views of the same subject and publish them to the world?

The question is a new high, or low, in naïveté; additionally, it disregards the possibility that a lover's intellectual jealousy may have played some part in Wells's attack.

At this point in his subject's career, Dickson's interest wanes because Wells takes the advice of *Boon*, the novelist-hero of his book, and rejects (to put it crudely) art for art's sake. Says Dickson:

... Wells, the artist, who had begun with such miraculous promise and had seemed to draw a whole world after him into the light of common day, failed when *Boon* took hold of him.

Anthony West says further:

It was, of course, *Boon*, with its parody of Henry James and its harsh criticism of aesthetic values which finally established his reputation as a Philistine.

No one would argue that any subsequent novel by Wells is up to his best; what is perhaps worse, considering his choice, no one would argue that his subsequent political, economic, and scientific books are of much present

value. Yet he did shake the world with his educationist energy; *The Outline of History*, which he wrote in one year, sold millions of copies and went into every civilized language. And his aesthetic sense and literary ability can scarcely be said to have disappeared completely. In this journal (March 10, 1917) he reviewed Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and said, "Its claim to be literature is as good as the claim of the last book of *Gulliver's Travels*." Hardly a dulling of literary perception. Nor is his own later fiction completely sterile. I think for example of the end of *Christina Alberta's Father* and the brother's death in *The World of William Clissold*, of the prophetic eeriness in *The Croquet Player*.

Dickson saves his most astonishing comment for the end:

What one sees in his life is the almost complete absence of any moral values. I do not mean only his own sexual behavior. I mean that he seems to have had no idea of the moral resources of humanity. . . .

Let's not dwell on the implications of "only" in the second sentence, nor on the *non sequitur* between a lack of moral values in one's self and the inability to see such values in humanity. Let's not badger Dickson with the fact that he has previously defined morality as "gentleness, and a consideration for others . . . a reluctance to inflict pain," a line one can almost see worked in needlepoint. Let me just quote a line of his own on the page after the pronouncement above:

This is the age of the common man, and Wells fought constantly and desperately for the common man's welfare. . . .

No moral values? As for the moral base and intent of his fiction, consider (to name a few) *Ann Veronica*, *The Research Magnificent*, *The Undying Fire*, all concerned with self-realization and clarified moral vision. One might say of Dickson, except that he obviously has considerable affection for Wells, that with friends like him, Wells needs no detractors.

At least he is right in stating that he has not given us the definitive biography; that book, I hope, is coming from Professor Ray. Meanwhile, what is there of Wells's own Himalayan output that lives for us? Very little, I'm

afraid. Some of the early scientific romances, *The Time Machine*, *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, *The War of the Worlds*, *The Invisible Man*, which still have narrative vitality and effective symbolism. A few of the short stories, "The Star," "The Country of the Blind," "The Door in the Wall," not many more. A couple of the "little fellow" romances, *Kipps* and *The History of Mr. Polly*, which are skillful and touching, and help to document the rise of the unheroic hero. And *Tono-Bungay*, a novel for which the inescapable adjective is Dickensian—in its use of "character comedy" as serious social comment and its attempt to render spiritual drama in a bourgeois society through the hazards of financial maneuver. Yet even here, as John Gross said recently, "Something went wrong, and the novel flies apart. . . ." It disintegrates into a series of contrivances as Wells arranges to convert his hero, tarred with the brush of business swindle, into an oracular religionist of science.

As an intellectual force, Wells's power is now quite indirect. In George Orwell's "Wells, Hitler, and the World State" (1941) he demonstrates that Wells's political prophecies in the preceding year had all proved false and

says that Wells was "too sane to understand the modern world." Still Orwell feels guilt about criticizing him:

Is it not a sort of parricide for a person of my age (thirty-eight) to find fault with Wells? Thinking people who were born about the beginning of this century are in some sense Wells's creation. . . . The minds of all of us, and therefore the physical world, would be perceptibly different if Wells had never existed.

If that is true, and I think it is, then the succeeding generations have inherited a world influenced by Wells. But I also think that Orwell reduces Wells's mind too easily to a rational mechanism in order to make his own point about the power of irrationality. Ultimately Wells did not believe in a universe made perfect through reason and science. The final figure is of a bustling little Cockney who had the furious energy to take the whole world in hand and try to repeat for it his own experience, liberation through education; but (the last contradiction) who also knew that education was only a stay against a despair that had otherwise to be cured.

On Reading S. S. Van Dine In the Canned Goods Section

It could be said that there were none of the makings
of a great detective in S. S. Pierce.

At the scene of the crime the D.A. and the Chief paid
no attention to Pierce,

Who always sat in a corner eating applesauce.

The analysts swirled around the corpse

While Pierce sat there eating.

He asked no questions.

He took no measurements.

Yet when the coroner noted a strange sticky substance behind
the victim's left ear,

And the substance was hastily shipped off to the lab, Pierce
was always ahead of them all, saying,

"It's applesauce." He was right, too, every time.

REED WHITEMORE

"The angriest book of the year"

—Msgr. George G. Higgins,
N.C. Features

"O'Connor comes armed with facts, personal experience, lively anecdotes, gossip—and a strong dash of bitters."—JAMES F. ANDREWS, Managing Editor, *National Catholic Reporter*

"For the Roman Catholic Church to live, its churches must die," says John O'Connor in this passionately partisan, ruthlessly honest report from the front. A professional Catholic journalist for twenty years, O'Connor talks about his stormy relationship with the Church and offers the clearest and most dramatic picture yet of the fierce struggle being waged for the future of Catholicism in America.

"Can bishops or pastors hope to be in any way *au courant* with the Church in this hour in time if they turn a deaf ear to what Mr. O'Connor says so sincerely, so forcefully, yes, at times so angrily?"—JOHN TRACY ELLIS, Professor of Church History, University of San Francisco

THE PEOPLE VERSUS ROME

Radical Split in the
American Church

By JOHN O'CONNOR

\$5.95, now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE 

Kenneth Burke: The "Christ-Dionysus Link"

Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane by John Unterecker

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$15.00)

Once I happened to be discussing the "seven offices" that, as I see it, men in their public relations perform for one another. Six of them I could line up readily enough; namely: govern, serve (provide for materially), defend, teach, entertain, and cure. I explained that I had trouble with the seventh. I had thought of calling it "console," having in mind the religious rites that may still be resorted to, even after all hope of cure has failed. But religion also serves the ends of social control, since it was likewise designed to scare the devil out of us. Finally, I hit upon "pontificate," that is, to "build a bridge" between a here and a "beyond," and to talk about the here in terms of that "beyond." I had in mind the fact that whereas the Roman Emperor, in his dual role as secular ruler and divinity, had been called by his pagan subjects *Pontifex Maximus* (or "foremost bridge-builder" between two realms), the expression was later taken over by the Christians to designate the Pope.

Whereat, lo! in the discussion following the talk, from the floor came the inquiry, "In this connection, what would you do with Hart Crane's culminating poem, 'The Bridge'?"

Here was a perfect question. For it helps make clear how the *aesthetics* of Hart's "mythic" interest in his "religious gunman" (including puns on "gun") differs from a directly *religious* view of human motives. Hart's major poem does indeed pontificate. For his treatment of our world (its *hic et nunc*, plus a vaguely visionary future) is in terms of an idealized "mythic" past which somehow lives on, so that our history's subsequent developments are somehow infused with the same initial essence. His poem would aim to show "how much of the past is living under only slightly altered form, even in machinery and such-like."

Part of his material for this primal

past he got from public, bookish sources, with moments assembled in his sprightly way by consulting The Documents and snatching from them (often with a mixture of alcohol and Victrola records) whatever details he felt would best fit his need for "a synthesis of America and its structural identity." The rest involved his many ways of transforming personal experiences into quasi-mythic analogues whereby some particular event involving his relations to one particular person at one particular time became, as it were, "timeless" by being divested of its place in his biography and translated rather to some sheerly functional role in his overall poetic scheme. Thus, as John Unterecker puts it: "Though the 'Voyages' set is a consequence of a love for a man, its subject matter is love itself." Or, though Hart was quite explicit as to their relations "privately," the biographer notes that "publicly . . . the poems were meant to link love and sea and death into a dense, affirmative design."

Though this book contains many excellent comments on the poetry as poetry, almost by sheer definition the biographer's job is to go back and locate as many of those utterly personal motives as Hart's way of incorporating them was designed to "mythically" or *bridgingly* transcend. And Hart's exceptionally frank and circumstantial letters (a great number of which have been preserved), plus letters to him and about him, and the reminiscences of many sympathetic but realistic friends whom the biographer was able to consult, help "demythologize" the poetry (however respectfully) by recovering the personal situations which had figured originally as incentives, or points of departure, for his lines.

First of all, with painstaking and painful thoroughness, we are permitted to follow the ways in which Hart suffered from the quarrels of his parents.

In 1919 (he was born in 1899) he wrote to his mother (whom he explicitly associated with his search for a poetic synthesis): "It's time you realized that for the last eight years my youth has been a rather bloody battleground for your's and father's sex life and troubles." He was "Harold" in his father's house, "Hart" in his mother's. For present purposes suffice it to say that, before the obsessive entanglement was over, Hart's attitudes had undergone a brutally revolutionary change. And whereas for years he had seen his father through his mother's eyes, in time he came to be greatly sympathetic to some of his father's subsequent sorrows; and with the death of his grandmother, "a new crisis developed, Hart finally cutting himself off from his mother completely, hiding his address from her, refusing to answer the pleading letters that found their way to him." Obviously, such an upheaval would do great damage.

However, there was also to be bridged the nagging conflict between his family's ideal of a conventional, well-paying job and his resolve to be a poet (with Hart making repeated poorly paid attempts to abide by the norms of business, even while being as though "put up on a cross and divided," since he was "forced to be ambitious in two directions"). As the biography describes an interview Hart gave in 1919:

The artist had to cultivate a deliberately split personality. He had to be "two different people," as Crane told his interviewer. One of his lives, if it was to be meaningful, had to be devoted to business; another, to art. And the two lives, "arts and business," had to be kept "entirely separate."

It was, for him, an almost desperate effort – and it obviously involved a situation that had to be bridged (in his case, by a "mythic" celebrating of our country's technologic prowess, though at a later date Spengler was to cause him acute worries for a while).

Another gulf, more and more in need of bridging as time went on, arose between his character when sober and his character when drunk. It was a Jekyll-Hyde situation that was greatly aggravated by his homosexuality, causing problems that even got to the stage of blackmail. Near the end, his alcoholic violence, homosexual promiscuity, and

cult of mythic primitivism led him so far afield that he could go farther only by cohabiting with a woman during a Mexican ceremony which Hart loved as another kind of bridging (namely: Aztec survivals in local Christian rites), "while skyrockets splintered the sky and all the bells of Taxco splintered their ears."

"Boys—I did it!" he shouted afterwards. But not long after that he was shouting, "She thinks she can reform me, does she? I'll show her! Why, God damn her, I'd rather sleep with a man any day than with her!" Anyhow, be that as it may, she had moved in with him. And she was with him on the boat when he, who had said, "In the absolute sense, the artist *identifies* himself with life," leapt into the reality of his obsessive symbol, the sea, and was no more.

Given his particular kind of intensity and close family ties, there was also a world of his Middle-Western beginnings that somehow needed to be merged with his later footloose modes of life (themselves sporadically modified by attempts at anchorage).

What I, following the biography, have called the "Christ-Dionysus link" concerns the fact that he identified poetry so closely with alcohol, he worked constantly on that ragged edge between a sudden unforeseen line that could be salvaged and the many lines that (the very next day, he knew in a flash) had to be thrown away. And at no slight risk I will confess: when going back over his poems in connection with this review, I found that they work better if read not in cold reviewer-sobriety, but if one brings to them on one's own part a modicum of alcoholic latitude. Such assistance (mild, mind you!) might better fit the reader for communion with the poet's Dionysiac groove.

All told, the biography is an exceptionally admirable piece of devotion to its subject. And it is especially admirable because the sympathetically documented narrative also includes many telling references to the modes of workmanship that characterize Hart Crane's morality of production. We might start with Malcolm Cowley's description of the "brilliant monologue" that developed during one stage of Hart's frequent transformation from sobriety to desolate excess:

Everything reminded him of some-

FOR MEN ONLY...

"Why have most women failed to find the key to dominance? ... In **MEN IN GROUPS**, Sociologist Lionel Tiger proposes another explanation for male cultural domination. The survival of society, he argues, depends more crucially on man's affinity for man than on his reproductive affinity for women."—TIME MAGAZINE

FOR MEN ONLY?

"**MEN IN GROUPS** concerns what the author calls the male bond. He sees it as a propensity throughout all of *Homo sapiens* for males to form groups that exclude the female. Whether one considers the all-male hunting party of our small-brained ancestors millions of years ago, or the animated all-male cluster at a cocktail party, one observes the same phenomenon. Men want, need and must have the opportunity of exclusive association. And the all-male group, bonded by long familiarity, furnishes society with its spine."

—ROBERT ARDREY, LIFE MAGAZINE

FOR MEN ONLY

"Equalitarians will condemn it as wrong-headed, as reactionary, as irresponsible. Social scientists whose education in biology was finished in their high school years will with ponderous authority speak of Social Darwinism. One hesitates to contemplate the coarseness of vocabulary which will be directed at the author by our more dominating females and their more-than-dominated-male allies. But, the author, unless hanged in some public place, should survive. His thesis is so transparently true that it can be attacked like a clean window, only with stones."—ROBERT ARDREY, LIFE MAGAZINE

"AN IMPORTANT AND CONTROVERSIAL WORK."

—CHRISTOPHER LEHMANN-HAUP, THE NEW YORK TIMES

Men in Groups

BY Lionel
Tiger

\$6.95 RANDOM HOUSE 

thing else: landscapes, of musical compositions; poems, of skyrocketers or waterfalls; persons, of birds, animals, or piles of grimy snow; he could abstract the smile from a woman's face and make us see it in the design of the mantelpiece.

In this stage (while it lasted!) Hart came close to his poetic ideal. For instance, when on the subject of "symbolic transformations," Hart wrote to Waldo Frank that his bridge would become in turn "a ship, a world, a woman, a tremendous harp." He expresses worry lest the last section of the poem seem "transcendental," though he felt that other sections would counteract this "tendency." Elsewhere, we hear about "the metamorphosis of Pocahontas (the Indian) into the pioneer woman, and hence her absorption into our 'contemporary veins.'" And the biographer says of "Lachrymae Christi":

Playing the sort of literary game his readers had come to expect from him, Crane brilliantly assembled a body (that of reborn Christ-Diony-

sus-earth) from the natural scene – the "smile" of a factory windowsill, "fox's teeth," "flanks of hillsides," "eyes," "tongue," "palm," and the earth's "tendon loam" – compounding into the refreshing experience of spring. . . . (p. 375)

All such devices, to my way of thinking, could be classed as poetic variants of the "transcendental," and particularly since, so often, as the biographer helps us to realize, they embody "the elements of his life that were to serve as a private substratum for the elaborate framework of the 'public' poem." But I must admit: you can take your pick as to which stratum, the public or the private, is "beyond" the other.

All told, then, there were ways of transforming the personal or autobiographical into a transcendent "myth." The realistic situation (the mounting problems of money and technology) could be similarly transcended in terms of a vaguely promissory myth. And the terms of the myth itself could undergo purely internal transformations (thereby getting a reflexive kind of density

through the addition of modifications that variously referred back to one another, like words in a dictionary).

As regards this situation, Allen Tate is quoted as saying: "The 'bridge' stands for no well-defined experience; it differs from the Helen and Faustus symbols [of Hart Crane's earlier poem, "For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen"] only in its unliterary origin," which is by no means so wholly "unliterary" as the concept of a "bridge" itself would suggest. The alembications at their extreme probably show up in Hart's letter to Yvor Winters: "It's as plain as day that I'm talking about war and aeroplanes in the passage from F & H (corymbulous formations of mechanics, etc)."

Though various of Hart Crane's works are dealt with, the book gravitates about his tremendous psychic investment in "The Bridge." The theme becomes so obsessive, one occasionally feels that the pages would have been at their ironic best if but fragmentary bits of the poem itself, with but tantalizing hints of its structure, had survived. There were definitely times when (as during one period on the Isle of Pines) spells of writing allowed him the greatest of gratifications; namely: the quasi-mystic euphoria of living in what Santayana might call the "Realm of Spirit," the delight of total engrossment in the internalities of a symbol-system, the feeling (be it right or wrong, and often it was right) that things were falling into exactly the proper place. But the very delight in such moments (often erroneously assisted by alcohol) can set up the conditions for a frightful letdown. So, when the poem was finished, then what?

Add the tangles he had got himself into, along with the kind of troubled nation to which he was returning in 1932 – and the "logic of metaphor" to which he had subscribed gets its analogous fulfillment in a reflexive logic of suicide.

In "Cutty Sark" he says, "I started walking home across the bridge. . . ." Boy! you couldn't get home from there. But your biographer has shown how a poignant tale can be told about your search. And what *vitality* you brought to it! And how you punished yourself. It's almost as though nothing but yourself could kill you. . . .

All told, the range had been between "Permit me voyage, love, into your hands" and "love/A burnt match skating in a urinal."

17-Jewel Flashlight!



A tiny light in the dial of this superb timepiece is the greatest idea yet for program reading, lost quarter retrieving, keyhole finding or even locating your girl in the dark to kiss her goodnight! Mercury battery lasts one year and is quickly exchanged. This outstanding watch by Belvil: 17-jewels, Incabloc®, shock protected, antimagnetic, automatic wind, date, waterproof – the works! Holy Emmenthaler! What will the clever Swiss think of next?

Send me a "17-Jewel Flashlight." I enc. \$71 (\$70 plus \$1 post. & ins.) Calif. resid. add 5%. Return in 2 wks. if not delighted. Guaranteed 1 year.

☐ Gold-filled case, steel back; ☐ Chrome case, steel back;
(best for drawing room Diogenes). (for all around rugged use).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

Mail to: 584 Washington St., San Francisco, California 94111

TNR-0816

haverhill's

There's a wealth of
information
on these labels...



Learn to read them like an expert in *Wines and Spirits*

Yours for 10 days free from **TIME LIFE BOOKS** *Foods of the World*

The label on a bottle of wine can tell you the reputation of its maker... the quality of the crop that produced it... the kind of grapes used... who bottled the wine and under what conditions. Using the information you'll find in *Wines and Spirits*, you can then tell from a label how experts rate the wine... what its special "personality" is... which foods it sets off to best advantage... how much it should cost.

Knowing about wines, cocktails, cordials, before- and after-dinner drinks can heighten immeasurably the pleasure of a meal or an evening. The correct choices can create the particular mood you desire for an occasion.

Introducing *Foods of the World*

Wines and Spirits is your introduction to TIME-LIFE BOOKS' series, *FOODS OF THE WORLD*—superbly illustrated volumes that take you on food lovers' "tours" of different countries or regions. Here are the grand dishes to go with your fine wines and spirits... to make your dinner party a full-fledged success. Each volume is complete in itself—the recipes are all thoroughly tested under the supervision of Consulting Editor Michael Field.

Wines and Spirits was written by novelist and travel writer Alec Waugh, in collaboration with expert consultants. To make the volume a de-

light to the eye as well as the palate, photographer Arie deZanger travelled worldwide to bring back beautiful pictures of wines and spirits being prepared, served and drunk.

In *Wines and Spirits*, you'll learn how to make more than 100 cocktails, cordials, punches, hot and cold mixed drinks. You'll be told how to start a wine cellar for \$100, \$250 or \$500. You'll understand how Prohibition set back the development of American wines... and which of our national brands are gradually catching up to the best of the French, German and Italian products.

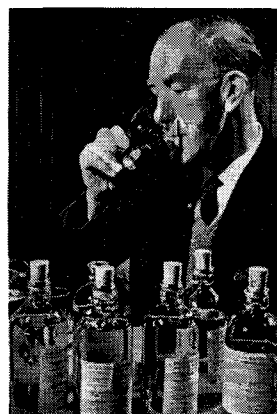
With this handsome book, you also get a 96-page, spiral-bound Recipe Booklet and a 64-page Kitchen Guide, all for only \$4.95 (plus shipping and handling).

Why not test some of the recipes in this colorful book for 10 days? Then you may return it, if you wish—or keep it and pay only \$4.95. That will entitle you to receive, every two months, another volume of *FOODS OF THE WORLD* for the same free 10-day trial. Just mail the coupon now—or write to TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Dept. 1801, Time & Life Building, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

Among other volumes in *Foods of the World*:
The Cooking of Italy • American Cooking
The Cooking of Provincial France



Actual size: 8½" x 11".
Hard covers, 208 pages,
148 illustrations in color.
Written by Alec Waugh
and four other
food and drink experts.



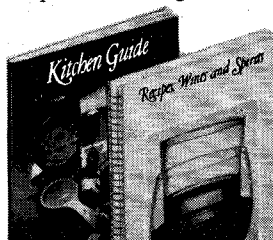
Experts test the quality of Scotch not only by tasting, but by sniffing it.



German wines complement pheasant and desserts in a colorful Alsatian café.

BOTH FREE

96-page, 6" x 9" RECIPE BOOKLET contains directions for making 117 mixed drinks and 26 hors d'oeuvre and canapés. Each volume of *FOODS OF THE WORLD* comes with its own free RECIPE BOOKLET. Illustrated 64-page KITCHEN GUIDE will help you shop for and serve compliment-winning meals.



TIME-LIFE BOOKS, DEPT. 1803
Time & Life Building, Chicago, Ill. 60611

Please enroll me as subscriber to *FOODS OF THE WORLD* and send me the first volume, *Wines & Spirits*, plus the Recipe Booklet and Kitchen Guide for a 10-day Trial Examination. If, at the end of that time, I decide not to continue the series, I will return everything, canceling my subscription. If I keep them, I will pay \$4.95 (plus shipping and handling). I understand that future volumes will be issued on approval at two-month intervals, at the same price of \$4.95. The 10-day Free Examination privilege applies to all volumes and I may cancel my subscription at any time, just by notifying you.

Name _____
(Please Print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

THE POPULATION EXPLOSION IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM THAT FACES OUR SOCIETY

If ten million citizens are deeply concerned about overpopulation and they remain separate from each other and therefore silent, their concern is unnoticed. BUT if those same ten million people join forces, make noise, and command attention, it is a certainty that our elected officials, along with our mass media and our fellow citizens, will take us seriously.

Zero Population Growth, Inc., has come into being to serve the purpose of bringing together all population-concerned citizens. In order to provide a strong voice that will be heard by the general public, our legislative bodies, and our mass media, we need you!

Zero Population Growth, Inc.
1158 Lisa Lane, Los Altos, Cal. 94022

Name _____

Address _____

City & State _____ Zip _____

- ☐ General Membership, \$5.00 semi-annually
☐ Student Membership, \$2.00 annually
☐ I wish additional information.
☐ Two buttons and one bumper sticker, \$1.00 ("The Population Bomb is Everyone's Baby")

**"Listen man, my starka is bigger than your starka."
 "What are you putting me on? Even my little schnook could beat your fat old starka!"**
 (Conversation overheard between Zapists.)

ZAP!

A completely new and modern game for today's minds. For people who don't even like games. No chance involved, based entirely on skill.

ZAP!

Simple to play but your strategy can be as complicated as you want. Invented by the inimitable **Roger Price**, who also created **Doodles** and **Mad Libs**.

ZAP!

The brilliant (but vicious) new game. (It's fun to play.)
\$3.95 RANDOM HOUSE 

John Osborne: Nixon Without Warts

The Making of a President 1968 by Theodore H. White

(Atheneum; \$10.00)

It's fun, watching Dick capture Teddy, if you ignore the stretches of awful writing ("... there was a drama in the man, in his turning-about in himself; but it was a drama too dense for easy analysis") and follow Theodore H. White's account of the process by which he was brought to discover in himself "a slow and ever-growing respect" for Richard Nixon. As the chronicler of Presidential campaigns since 1960, White saw more of Nixon in person during and after the 1968 campaign than any other journalist did and the resultant sketches are, for me, the parts of this third *Making of the President* that repay the effort it takes to work through the whole. There are many fine descriptive passages, including a superlative account of Robert Kennedy's aborted campaign, but they are so buried amongst and clouded by the author's attempts to make lasting history of his reportage that reading his book becomes a chore. Those who skip it will miss a great deal that is interesting and evocative of a turning year in American politics. But they will miss very little that would add to their understanding of that year, and they will spare themselves passages that add only to a misunderstanding of it and of the President it produced.

Teddy's natural preference, his hero in 1960, was John F. Kennedy, as Robert Kennedy was in 1968. Nixon, observed from a distance in 1960, seemed to White to be banal, self-pitying, petulant but never (he says now) untrustworthy, cowardly or stupid. Beginning in November of 1967, Nixon saw to it that White observed him at close and occasionally intimate vantage. A first meeting in Nixon's New York apartment was cordial enough but "wary, brisk and business-like." Next came - by chance, White says - a sharing of seats on a commercial shuttle flight from Washington to New York and a ride together from the airport into the city. They talked about writing ("how, when, at what times of

day did I work - where?"); at Teddy's instance, about Isaac Newton ("he wanted to hear more about Newton, all about Newton"); at Nixon's instance, about "the marvel" of training raw girls to be skilled airline hostesses; about Presidential politics and polls, Nixon impressing Teddy with "clear, detached, lucid summaries of the problems of all the candidates." Nixon left White on that day with "a new view of the Nixon personality - in which the trait uppermost was a voracious, almost insatiable curiosity of mind, a hunger to know, to learn, to find out how things work, to understand and explore detail." They met again on the following March 12, the day of Nixon's and Eugene McCarthy's victories in the New Hampshire primaries. Nixon was "in his nervous mood," preoccupied with Vietnam (how could the next President, how would Teddy "liquidate that war with honor"?), and with the indications, soon realized, that Nelson Rockefeller would try for the Republican nomination. Nixon had previously asked Teddy whether he thought Rockefeller "would make a good Secretary of State." Now their talk went "back and forth, between the probable results and impact of the New Hampshire primary on the Republican Party and the great external world." It was warming, it was effective. At this stage of their acquaintance, Teddy writes, "I came to believe that one must respect this man: there was about all he said a conviction and a sincerity. . . . There was in all he said, even in discussing the most hostile personalities, a total absence of bitterness, of the rancor and venom that had once colored his remarks."

The acquaintance thrived - aboard Nixon's campaign plane, at Nixon's post-election headquarters in New York - with an interview that produced one of the book's better passages. The country needed, the President-elect wanted to give it "a sense of purpose, a sense of a binding ideal. . . . Did I

remember the kick-off of the campaign? The phrase he had used in the opening speech at (sic) New Hampshire—"the country needs the lift of a driving dream"? That's what he was looking for." At the last meeting reported in the book, in the Oval Office at the White House on the Thursday after the Inauguration, President Nixon "was calm as I had never seen him before, as if peace had settled on him." He showed his guest the agenda of his first Cabinet meeting, talked of how he proposed to use *his* Cabinet and *his* National Security Council, and displayed to Teddy "an executive mind at work, with logic, force, and clarity."

It is well that we have, from a journalist not previously entranced with Richard Nixon, so friendly and confident a portrait of the President, and this reader is grateful to Teddy White for it. I wish that as much could be said for the book in the whole. One sentence in it, on page 363 of the first edition, encapsulates the several vices of style and judgment that, for me, disqualify the book as "A narrative history of American politics in action"—the subtitle on the jacket—and suggest that Teddy White paid a large price for his access to Nixon and to the Oval Office. The sentence is as follows: "In 1968, Nixon conspicuously, conscientiously, calculatedly denied himself all racist votes, yielding them to Wallace." That is not true. It would not be true if the three adverbs (in a sentence of 15 words!) were omitted. The opposite is true: the President is paying now, in other coin, for the appeal that he in fact made for Wallace votes. White's entire account of this aspect of the Nixon campaign is in keeping with the quoted sentence. It is as if Teddy throughout the campaign were deaf to the code in which Nixon spoke on this matter and blind to those qualities in Richard Nixon which made it possible for him to speak in that code.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS.

KENNETH BURKE's *criticism and poetry have been reissued by the University of California Press*. ERIC BENTLEY, *former drama critic of The New Republic and now professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, is the author of What Is Theater?, The Life of the Drama and the adapter and translator of A Man's A Man and Mother Courage.*

Theater

The Naked American

America in the sixties has been a paradoxical place. The President who wished to inaugurate a Great (that is, just and peaceful) Society only succeeded in escalating an unjust war. Meanwhile, on the American Left, many who talked liberation and liberty helped only to forge new shackles or tighten up the old ones.

For "paradox" read "ambiguity" or even "equivocation." All the phenomena of the sixties which might claim to be positive are also negative. One can only hope that in some instances the opposite is also true: that there is a positive aspect to what is first seen as negative. For instance, that "sexual revolution" from which nudity in the theater and other such things have stemmed. Here one must remark how much too easily the word revolution is used these days, and how it attaches itself to any notable changes whatsoever, however destructive, and unaccompanied as they may be by any hope of restructuring of the social order as a whole. Thus it is a sexual revolution in Scarsdale if adultery is up by 50 percent, and what used to be called the decadence of the Roman Empire would in current discourse be the Roman revolution.

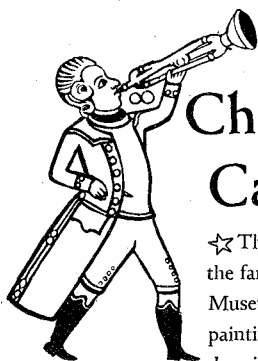
What about public disrobing? How revolutionary is that? Let us be simple. Over the long span the primary phenomenon has been the striptease. Girls took their clothes off in front of a crowd of horny men, who thereby got hornier. Stripteasing was found more exciting than merely sending naked girls out on stage. That is how it became the primary phenomenon in this line of business. Let us continue to be simple. The topic is business, for what all our noble fighters against puritanism and censorship are doing is making a lot of money in the easiest way, there being no safer bet in the whole gambling den of capitalism than male horniness. And if some of the horny males also get orgasms from liberal ideology so much the better for the bankbooks of those who produce nude shows or publish "pornographic" pictures and texts. Students of the sixties will undoubtedly find it interesting that at a time when an imperialistic war was

being preached and fought by liberal politicians, the old trade in "dirty" literature and show biz was plied by liberal critics, publishers, and producers. War and pornography are not new to human history but, in the America of the sixties, they certainly made new friends.

This is not to say that all these liberals sold out. Some of them had never sold in. Of others it could be said that, if they confused the issue of pornography, they were justified to this extent: that pornography itself represents a pretty confused situation. Not to rehash this whole matter once again, let me point to a single historical factor: that autumn is also seedtime, that a period which can reasonably be seen as a decadence in relation to what is ending can often be seen quite differently in relation to what is beginning. In any event, the commercial motive of the entrepreneurs does not completely cancel other motives in the "pornographers" and "nudists" themselves. The latter may share the commercial motive yet have other motives as well. It is pretty clear that the desire to strip in public, during the sixties, has passed all commercial bounds. Ultimately, it springs from some source even deeper, even less rational, than money.

And what source is that? Before this question can be answered, one must concede that public stripping has a variety of meanings. A Jewish actor who stripped in *Fortune and Men's Eyes* in London told me he hated it because it made him think of Auschwitz. The meaning of such phenomenon is largely a matter of emotional association, and here the association of stripping was with the most terrible powerlessness and humiliation. Usually, I think, girls are more apt than boys to respond in this direction, but any of us may feel powerless and (somewhat) humiliated when stripped in a hospital. On the other hand, stripping in front of one person—your spouse—can lose all effect after a few months of matrimony.

If the stripper can be the attacked, he can also be the attacker. My friend Richard Schechner reports that when he so memorably stripped at that Liv-



Christmas Cards

☆ The new catalogue of the famous Metropolitan Museum of Art cards — paintings by the masters, drawings and sculpture,

luminous medieval miniatures burnished with gold and silver, angels from an eighteenth-century crèche, rare enamels, early woodcuts, and festive Victorian prints are among the more than 50 designs. ☆ The cards, printed in limited editions, cost from 5 to 95 cents each. They can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. The catalogue — which also illustrates Museum copies of sculpture, ancient jewelry, early American blown glass, the brilliant new Museum engagement calendar, and other unusual Christmas presents — will be mailed about September first.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 10028

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L5

Name _____

Address _____

ZIP _____

THE BIGGEST MUSICAL HIT IN YEARS

BEST MUSICAL

NEW YORK DRAMA CRITICS' CIRCLE AWARD—1968-69

TONY AWARD—1968-69

1776

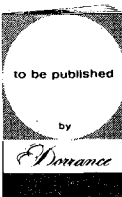
AMERICA'S AWARD WINNING MUSICAL

MAIL ORDERS FILLED PROMPTLY. PRICES: Mon. thru Thurs. Evgs.: Orch. \$12.; Mezz. \$9.; Balc. \$7.; 5. Fri. & Sat. Evgs.: Orch. \$15.; 12.; Mezz. \$10.; Balc. \$8.; 6. Mats. Wed. & Sat.: Orch. \$8.; Mezz. \$7.; Balc. \$6.; 5. Enclose self-addressed, stamped envelope. Suggest alternate dates.

46TH-STREET THEATRE
230 W. 46 ST., NEW YORK 10036

authors of books

Manuscripts invited for publication. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors are welcome. For complete information, send for free booklet, A-2. DORRANCE & COMPANY 1809 Callowhill, Phila., Pa. 19130



ing Theatre performance, he was trying to "show them." The first wish of the contemporary American male is to be thought to have balls. (Males of other nations have assumed that balls are what they do have.) Well, seeing is believing, and balls have been on display quite a bit lately. But it is the penis that people pay to see. The girls' genitalia are not seen, or are not much to see. Their breasts, even with uncovered nipples, no longer provide the big, big surprise: Hugh Hefner has seen to this. No, the main reason for theater-going in the late sixties has been to see the penis. The penis has an enormous dual audience: first, women, who after centuries of restraint have broken down and confessed that this is what they wish to see; and secondly, homosexuals, or rather men with a marked homosexual component, which is more men than one used to think. It is probably important that, alone among the erogenous zones, the penis is visually dynamic. Whether or not, on stage, its size actually varies, hope does spring eternal, and an audience is forever on the *qui vive* to see if a penis will do its thing. From striptease, then, to cocktease: such is the history of America in the sixties. The New York district attorney's men are excited to the point of delirium. There they were at the *Che* production, as I gather, actually having hallucinations; they saw erections where there were none to see. Which proves either that there is something rather strong about current theater or that there is something rather upsetting about the DA's office.

If stripping can have a variety of meanings in life in general, it can also have a variety of effects upon theater audiences. The old stripteases either sent the horny men out to masturbate in the washroom or left them in a half pleasant, half frustrating state of turbulence. The same probably applies to much of the new nudity, even if there is now less of deliberate teasing. But perhaps more typical of today is a certain humorous neutralization of emotion, a cool, half laughing reaction. Even pornographic movies are received in this vein, not an erection in the house, whenever a bunch of young New Yorkers foregather to air their caustic wit before the bawdy screen. Watching my fellow spectators at the Off Broadway play *Geese*, I saw few of the tense temples and anxiety-drawn lips that I associate with audiences of

veteran pornographers; equally few, incidentally, of the romantic celebrants of love (i.e., sex) whom the show's producers address themselves to; but many sophisticated worldings who found the show's daring distinctly groovy. Swingers out front showed respect for swingers on stage; and that was the nature of the whole transaction. Sort of like *Private Lives* back in the twenties.

In all the discussion of the proprieties, the actual effect of nudity and disrobing in a theater has as yet been little studied, even by producers and directors. Many persons who are very sophisticated, or wish to seem so, declare that stage nudity has already become as boring as conjugal nudity. This is not true for most people, however, and since it is not true for me either, I can report a quality of feeling in my own response which is a little different from the reactions which managements usually reckon with. It was not a state of high excitement. It did not seem to contain the promise, or even the hope, of orgasm. But at what I suppose must be called the sexier moments of *Geese* and of *Oh! Calcutta* I had a feeling of having gained entry to a special world with its own feeling-tone and a certain shivery fascination.

I would advise the producers and directors to explore that world further if they want to do something more with theatrical nudity. Meanwhile, alas, I can only concur with other critics who, in effect, have complained of the lack of this and any other kind of exploration in most of the "nude shows." The devisers of *Oh! Calcutta* seem to have been taken in by the biggest but by now best-known hoax of the century (not merely the sixties), namely, that the wife-swapping and other high jinks in the suburbs can be taken at face value. Hadn't they heard the news—published widely enough in the twenties already—that all this hectic fun expressed mere misery? Though many of the listed authors of *Oh! Calcutta* are American, one has the impression that it is all written by a British public schoolboy, aged sixteen, preoccupied with perversions, and believing that sex is a hayride. It is therefore all too vulnerable to the criticisms of anyone who has not been to a British school and/or is at least eighteen. . . . At times I was able to enjoy just looking at the naked bodies, but not as much as at *Che* because, like most of the big audience,

I was too far from the stage. Another lesson of the occasion is that this sort of thing requires a very small theater. Uncovering objects only a few inches long or broad can have no interest except for eyes within a few feet of those objects.

From *Geese*, the lesson one learns is that stripping can easily destroy the world of a play. When, as in Brecht's *Arturo Ui*, an actor removes a moustache in front of the audience, he thereby dismantles the role he has been playing. How much more so when, as in *Geese*, he removes his entire costume and underwear! The skin underneath the Hamlet costume is not Hamlet's, it is John Barrymore's. So what have the actors in a play like *Geese* done for its author? Made him rich, perhaps. But by taking the play away from him. One need shed no tears—it isn't that good a play—but one wonders about the pattern. It belongs, of course, to a wider situation which has been much discussed. The drama (as usual, one could say) is felt to be dead, and the new theater is looking elsewhere for its ideas: to action paintings, to tape-recordings, to light-shows, to street happenings, to movies and TV, and then again to social events outside show biz altogether, and, most notably, parties. Now parties, you may say, are dead as drama. Ah yes, but unlike drama, they have been livened up lately. Some hostesses in Manhattan are holding group therapy sessions instead of parties. Some therapists are letting their sessions become parties. Some group therapy sessions have no therapist on hand: the members just "encounter" each other, and the gleam in each eye spells ORGY. Not that an orgy will necessarily be had. Just that the hope of it is signaled from eye to eye. As in the new theater. Life is all one. Group therapy, parties, and theater have merged, and their *promesse du bonheur* is the hope of an orgy.

Look through the advertising columns of the *East Village Other*, and, alongside the "encounter groups," you will find advertised *body painting studios*. Follow up the ad, and you will find yourself naked in the presence of a naked model. For a stated sum paid by you, you paint each other. In some cases, the model is also a geisha girl or boy and will, as the expression now suitably is, "have sex" with you. Well, the transaction represents a distinct improvement over the American whore-

house which grandfather knew, and incidentally provides a clue to the character of the American theater in this time of undoubted decadence and possible promise. To begin with, we shouldn't need Jean Genet to tell us that the whorehouse is itself a theater. It is the legitimate theater's illegitimate sister institution. While the whorehouse is, on the one hand, a place where men settle for less than romance, it is, on the other, a place where they have consistently sought more than marriage and more than a respectable

bourgeois love affair. On the one hand, then, as I was saying about the current literature and theater of sex, it is all about money, but, on the other, human yearnings, fantasies, and hopes are involved of considerable scope and, in part, of real beauty.

What then, finally, to make of the naked American of the new theater? For one thing, he or she is but old whore writ large. If stripping has many meanings, one of the first is undoubtedly the invitation to the sexual dance. To take off your clothes says: make



ERIC BENTLEY

The following Eric Bentley albums are currently available:

BENTLEY ON BRECHT

music by Weill, Eisler, Wolpe, Dessau
Folkways (FH 5434)

BRECHT BEFORE THE UNAMERICAN COMMITTEE

a recording of the actual encounter of Brecht with the notorious Parnell Thomas
Folkways (FD 5531)

SONGS OF HANNS EISLER

28 songs, mostly by Brecht, sung by Eric Bentley
Folkways (FH 5433)

THE EXCEPTION AND THE RULE

the original Off Broadway cast album of the whole play, music by Wolpe
Folkways (FL 9849)

A MAN'S A MAN

the original Off Broadway cast album with John Heffernan as Galy Gay
Spoken Arts (SA 870)

THE ELEPHANT CALF

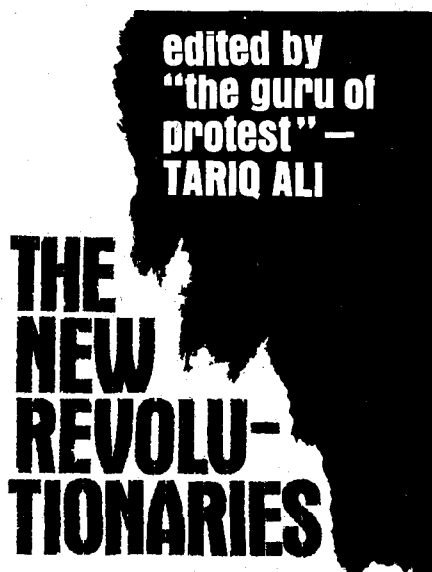
cast of the National Company with Logan Ramsey as Polly. Album also includes *DEAR OLD DEMOCRACY* by Eric Bentley and Arnold Black, Bentley as vocalist
Asch (FL 9831)

BENTLEY ON BIERMANN

Wolf Biermann's songs sung by Eric Bentley
Broadside (BRS 432)

Each album postage free from Pioneer Record Sales, 701 7th Avenue, New York City 10036 (\$5.79 each); except for *A MAN'S A MAN* which is available from Spoken Arts, 59 Locust Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. Also, at lower prices, at all discount houses.

love to me. In the theater this is usually a little on the symbolic side, but the message is understood, even when the love is only made with the eyes. Above all it is understood on the actor's side of the footlights. For the actor knows he is a whore and that violation by the eyes is humanly as thoroughgoing as any other. The wish to be naked on stage is the wish to



The first collection of the writings of the leading spokesmen and activists of the world struggle.
\$5.95 (Apollo paperback edition, \$2.50)

MORROW

**Authentic "LOVE"
for \$25.**



This unsigned silkscreen by Robert Indiana, one of many small editions we commission from artists like Dine, Trova, Warhol, etc. Send 50¢ and this ad for superb catalog showing other unique MULTIPLE commissions to: MULTIPLES, Box R, 929 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C. 10021. **MORROW**

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

offer oneself. I do not say give oneself, as these are not amateurs, and admission is not free. The front rows at *Oh! Calcutta* now go for \$25 a seat.

What's wrong with whores? Like other professions they constitute a conspiracy against the public, but unlike other professions they make no false claims for themselves, and in the course of a long history they have always imparted much pleasure, which is more than lawyers can say. But the naked American is not all whore. (Even a whore is not all whore.) In some degree, he is a rebel. Now rebels aren't necessarily better people than whores. It depends what they are rebelling against, and also what they are fighting for. I don't think the naked American knows, but he may be justified in his ignorance. His rebellion is but a tiny part of the gigantic rebellion with which our land at present is all but convulsed. Against what? For what? Let history decide, we say. Which is all very well provided we remember that history is very mean. If the current revolt comes to nothing, or if it comes to some result which all acknowledge to be bad, then the many little revolts which it is made up of will also be adjudged nothing, and their cultural by-products will be condemned as decadent. If on the other hand there is someday a positive result to show for all the current effort, then even its minor manifestations will be seen positively. In this case, the naked American will be honored for defying a social order that needed to be defied. And a positive content will be found in his activity, namely, that at a time when our urban civilization was most unnatural and unnerving, he asserted the claims of natural man, the claims of the body. Certainly, if you want evidence that the body has been betrayed in our time, it is there. And I don't think our soul is going to be saved until our body is joined to it again.

Eric Bentley

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on

August 9

August 23 September 6

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated

September 13

Correspondence

Israeli Hawks

Sirs:

We have enough unrelieved pro-Israeli "news" in our daily press. That's why it's so distressing to read Philip Ben's report (NR, July 26).

Mr. Ben tells us that "in general, Israeli conduct has always been dictated by one imperative: the lack of any other alternative." He adds that the U. S. too has had "little choice," since the Soviet Union continues "unwillingness to act as a brake" and chooses instead "to serve as an accelerator." But as an historical explanation for conscious acts of state, "lack of any other alternative" is pretty lame stuff; at best it's question-begging. With such "lack of alternative" and "little choice" on all sides (except the Arab and Soviet sides, apparently), we may soon see Israel's "defensive frontiers" expand to the outskirts of Tunis.

As I read the history of the Middle East, Israel has played just as big a role—maybe even a bigger one—in blocking peace initiatives via quantum escalations at critical diplomatic junctures, ever since 1953. Consider only the latest round in the Middle East dilemma: Levi Eshkol himself stated in late 1967 (as Ben's colleague Eric Rouleau recently noted) that just before the outbreak of the June 1967 war "the Egyptian military deployment was of a defensive order." There's much more evidence than this that the Israeli attack was preemptive—an act of aggression under most circumstances, particularly when the attacker knows he's stronger and the other side is on the defensive. And as for the Soviet Union, it has been behaving as it usually does; it armed the Arabs (just as outsiders armed the Israelis) but it has expended far more effort in restraining them, lest the boat be rocked. Has the U. S. exerted nearly as much effort in leashing Israel, our "bastion of democracy in the Middle East?"

More fundamentally, I wonder when NR readers are going to be afforded at least some idea that there's another side to this conflict. For unfortunately, Ben's report reflects the same kind of one dimensional thinking found in most NR articles and editorials on the Middle East over the past two years. When

will we be able to read about the unreconstructed expansionists and hawks in the movement around Dayan—a man whom Israeli opposition parliament member Uri Avnery calls “the most dangerous man in Israel. . . no scruples, no inhibitions, no morals, capable of anything”? When in fact, are we even going to be informed that inside Israel itself there is an opposition, resisting the militant Zionists who have ruled Israeli affairs from the start and have never entertained any idea of either binationalism in Palestine or coexistence with the Arabs there?

Israeli realities look grim, in view of its theological annexation and its diaspora-powered expansionism (already the occupied territories are being “colonized” and immigration from the upper-class-Western-Jewish populations of North America and Europe is being pushed), and its growingly military-based economy, its lopsided income distribution, and its righteous impatience with foreign reaction to its “pacification” techniques in Jerusalem and elsewhere. Israel is becoming a Middle-East replica of its American supporter; soon it may have its own Vietnam to complete the *tableau*.

Richard B. Du Boff

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Life in the Army

Sirs:

Robert L. Fitzpatrick's “This is the Army” (NR, July 19, 1969) is a depressingly accurate account of the undertakings of an army pre-induction physical. He sets the mood and tone of what each sensitive young man feels when he is quickly dehumanized, identity-stripped, invisible. The huge systematic movements of the process and the equally monotonous mechanical movements of those uniformed examples of military discipline and thinking overwhelms one almost to the point of hopelessness. Fitzpatrick captures preceptively the language of the military personnel which fully reflects their non-response to human beings in any form of communication.

To complete Fitzgerald's narrative, the officer who administers the intelligence

test screams, “All right you guys, this test is written for a two-year high-school boy. That means all of you should pass it the first time. If you screw it up now, you're gonna sit here without lunch all day until you pass it.”

914 Peacan Avenue, Charlotte, N.C. is not the address, The Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station, Anywhere Street, USA is.

Thomas J. Cardwell

Clifton Heights, Pa.

Tax Reform

Sirs:

Mr. Joseph Rosapepe of the Internal Revenue Service must have been putting you on when he explained that treble damages paid out in antitrust cases are tax deductible as an “ordinary and necessary” business expense because it's “necessary” to keep antitrust violators in business and “ordinary” for corporations to protect themselves in figuring out their taxes. (See “Deductible Wrongdoing,” NR July 26.)

The issue, of course, is not whether the *deduction* is ordinary and necessary—but whether the underlying *expense* meets these tests. The question is whether the cost of breaking the antitrust laws is such a regular, ordinary, acceptable part of doing business that it deserves favored tax treatment. There's not much evidence that Congress ever thought so; this deductibility is an administrative creation of the IRS. The problem is that only Congress can undo this interpretation, since no one has “standing” to challenge it in court. If we're actually going to get some sort of “tax reform” this year, then surely this should be part of the package.

John Hellegers

Cambridge, Mass.

COMING

Carlos Baker

on

Lesley Frost's

Derry journals

Personals

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? Bumpersticker. 5/\$1.00. Bell & Company, Commercial Center, Beverly Hills 90210.

SPONSOR a needy American Indian child enabling him to continue his schooling. Correspondence, visits, reports. \$12.50 monthly. Brochure. *Futures for Children*, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

TYPING see *Employment Wanted*.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WANTED POSTER. Issued by the FBI; full 10"x16" size. Send 50c to Cleaver, 325 Sheridan, Wilmette, Illinois 60091.

LEARN HOW YOU TOO CAN EARN MORE MONEY! Send for *Businesses You Can Start* for \$10.00. Send \$5.00 to: D. E. Whitehorne, 1309 Charles Street, Richmond, Virginia 23226.

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS. All custom-made. Lowest prices. Satisfaction guaranteed. Send \$1.00 (refundable) for price list and samples. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York. Phone: (516) 825-7706.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONVENTION, Illinois, August 22-24. Gerald Baker, Cresco, Iowa.

KENNEDY '72 buttons 5/\$1.00, bumperstickers 4/\$1.00. DRUM, Box 699-NR, Fairfield, Connecticut.

LIKE SMARTLY PRINTED STATIONERY—RICH textured papers? Send today for free idea-packed sample assortment many styles, sizes. Includes all the new “hot” colors and beautiful “cool” pastels. Both social and professional items shown. Write now. JACQUES COMPANY, Room 5-FA, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

ARTIST MODEL PLAYING CARDS. 54 card deck. \$1.00. Valmar Sales, Box 705-N, Glen Alpine, North Carolina 28628.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS by improving your arguments—AAAL, POB 36122, Los Angeles 90036.

WILD MUSHROOM LOVERS join International Mycophagist Association. Wild Mushroom Center of the World. Dr. John M. Linnet, Shamokin, Pennsylvania \$2.00 Certificate.

“JOY TO THEE AND ME—CONFUSION To Our Enemies.” Plaque, \$1.50; deluxe, \$2.50. IDEA PLAQUES, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS, gloves, moccasins. Send 50c for genuine buckskin money poke and big catalogue. Berman Buckskin Company, Dept. 67, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

WATCHBAND CALENDAR — 12 monthly metal wafers, starting current month; fold around watchband. \$1.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE 8 1/8" x 4" \$1.50. Deluxe Edition, \$2.50, grandiose, \$5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/\$1.00, 6/\$2.50. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's information book. \$1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

SEARCHING? . . . It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. \$10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems, NR16, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia Washington.

SUCCESS AND RICHES IS YOURS. Learn the secret plan . . . *It Works* . . . Send \$1.00 to Huntley & Company, Box 47793, Los Angeles, California 90047.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

PACKET ON MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX will provide you with ammunition by J. K. Galbraith, General David Shoup, Charles Schultze, I. F. Stone, many others. Send \$1.00 to Dept. m, SANE, 381 Park Avenue, South, New York, New York 10016.

HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO A RUSSIAN? You can on August 23rd because CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS believes that now more than ever face-to-face citizen level diplomacy is a step toward SURVIVAL. C E C's three week study-exchange programs in the USSR are open to Americans of all ages and occupations. Leave NYC AUGUST 23 or CHRISTMAS. Write-Wire: CEC NR 8/16 to West 46th Street, New York City 10036 or 212-LT 1-8113.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 97, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

ATHENA CENTER FOR CREATIVE LIVING. Spring 1970 San Miguel de Allende Mexico. Looking for staff to form and run center to give people opportunity for understanding themselves in relation to the sick society in which they want to be human. Box 4245 New Republic.

DIRTY OLD MEN NEED LOVE TOO—over 225 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/\$1, 50/\$5, 125/\$10 and 1,000/\$75. Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 MISSION, SAN FRANCISCO 94103.

HELP Amnesty International free LARISSA DANIEL (USSR), TRUONG DINH DZU (So. Vietnam), WOLE SOYINKA (Nigeria) and Prisoners of Conscience everywhere. Send \$10.00 for regular membership, or inquiries, to AIUSA, Dept. NR, Suite 1213, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C. 20036.

TED/72 Bumper Stickers 4/\$1. P.O. Box 195, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

WEEK-END CAMPING invitation is extended to join group of singles 20-40 in co-ed week end camping. 50-150 miles from N.Y.C. Box 4255, New Republic. (212)-586-7267.

RIOT-TORN COLLEGE Problems Solved. Box 4180 New Republic.

HARPSICORDS. Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. In kit form for home workshop assembly \$150. Clavichord kit, \$100. Free brochure. Write: Zuckerman Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher St., NYC 10014.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1 1/2'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot \$3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N Ojai, California 93023.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only \$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

REMEMBER BOBBY KENNEDY, 1968 campaign packet (3 original campaign buttons and multiple page memorial newspaper color magazine issued days after assassination). \$2.75. ORIGINAL gigantic campaign poster (2'x5 1/2'), black-white portrait with word KENNEDY in blue-orange printing across top. \$9.00. Money-back guarantee. Americana Suppliers, New Buffalo, Michigan 49117.

AMERICA, SAVE IT OR SCREW IT! Multi-purpose bumperstrip. 2/\$1.00. Age of Aquarius, Box 1144-N, Wilmington, Delaware 19899.

Literature

CHINA IN MAPS: An atlas of 24 colored maps, historical and geographical, 11 x 8 1/2". Postpaid \$1.50. Remit with order Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

A NEW VOICE IN THE SOUTH WEST. The OKLAHOMA LIMITED will explore in depth the political life of Oklahoma. Published bi-weekly. \$5.00 per year. Box 1041, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73101.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. \$6.00 for one year (a Saving of \$4.00) or \$4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

NATION'S Capital; nation's colony. Until we get self-government, your congressman helps run our city. Find out how he's doing. Read lively DC inner city monthly. Six months: \$1.00. Capitol East Gazette, 109 8th Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, \$1.00.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32N Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO, text, record loaned FREE, Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

RADICAL EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHERS seek highly creative manuscripts for elementary or secondary. CSCS, Inc. 60 Commercial Wharf, Boston, Massachusetts 02110.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

PACIFISM—Theory Outline. Baez Grad. \$1.00. Box 416 Madison, Wisconsin 53701.

SIX-PAGE REPRINT of Robert Brustein's "A Case for Professionalism" (NR-April 26, 1969) with Eric Bentley's reply "Going Over to the Enemy" (NR-May 17, 1969) now available (prepaid basis only) at the following prices: 1-4 copies—20c each; 5-99 copies—15c each; 100 or more copies—10c each. Orders to Reprint Department, The New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20036.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN speaks for himself. Special big issue. Fiction, poetry, art. Essays and interviews—art, music, religion. ALL INDIAN CONTRIBUTORS. \$1.50. South Dakota Review, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D. 57069

SAMPLES, 25c. Abas, Box 1598, Newark, New Jersey.

MEN WALKING ON THE MOON, a great success for science. Now we should work on our morals and stop wars. Read *Wake Up the Church* by Fred Sites. \$2.75, Vantage Press 120 West 31st St., New York, New York 10001.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write BOOKS—publish them myself and sell them for \$1. Want one? Send your \$1 to: Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94102.

INFOCUS: CHICAGO CONVENTION. 50 pages photography. \$1.00. Box 6356, Carmel, California 93921.

Schools

"TECHNIQUE IN ART IS MUCH LIKE IN LOVE MAKING. Heartfelt ineptitude has its appeal as does heartless skill but what we want is passionate virtuosity." (John Barth) Pacific High School, a school devoted to freedom and passionate virtuosity. Box 311, Palo Alto, California 94302. 408-867-2260.

SCHOOL AT KIRKBRIDGE—On Appalachian Trail overlooking Poconos. Opening this fall. Grades 10-11, boarding 20 boys, 16 girls. Intercultural, venturesome, non-denominational but seriously Christian, related to Kirkridge retreat-and-study center founded 1942. All-teach-all-learn community including expert teachers for college preparation, social relevance, late-teen self-realization. 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. Write **SCHOOL AT KIRKBRIDGE, BOX 1, BANGOR, PENNSYLVANIA 18013**. Phone 215-581-8954.

Employment Wanted

INDUSTRIOUS, hard-working girl desires all kinds of typing jobs, manuscripts, theses, papers etc. Box 4250, New Republic.

APPRENTICE ASTROLOGER seeking practice analyzing charts from 1940 to present. 202-956-9346.

NATURAL RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION, 4 years experience in interagency and intergovernmental coordination, administration and planning, seeks challenging position in political aspect of environmental management. Resume on request. Box 4240, New Republic.

EXPERIENCED SYSTEM DESIGNER seeks job doing good. Box 4245, New Republic.

YOUNG ENERGETIC MSW seeks challenging employment. Wide range of experience, local and federal levels (Community Organization, Administration, Research). Box 4235 New Republic.

Employment Opportunities

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs. Adventure. Forms and Australian Handbook (1969) describing Australian assisted passage, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities \$1.00 Buckeye, Box HC, Fairborn, Ohio 45524.

EXPERIMENTAL non profit institute requires clerical, professional, other staff. Creative persons willing to work (some manual labor) help conduct year-round in-residence Seminar study series: community organizers; New Theatre; black history; racial disorder problems, etc. Rural, isolated location in DuBois County, Indiana. Some salary—negotiable, w/rustic lodging and board included. Write: CONREC, Post Office Box 282, New Albany, Indiana 47150.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES—Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

ECONOMISTS: Come to where the action is. Cleveland, Ohio needs economist with Ph.D. (or close) to work on Community Renewal Planning grant. Send resume to Dr. Andrew Gold, Room 517, City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. An Equal Opportunity Employer.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. \$1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach California 90803.

NEEDED: Consumer crusading secretary-research assistant to work in Washington, D.C.; volunteer at start. Apply 759 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Vacations/Travel

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—\$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21 JCT, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Property - Sale/Rent

MATHEWS COUNTY, VIRGINIA. 7 room simple handsome farm home piazza, on 12 acres, near Piankatank River and Chesapeake Bay. Modern kitchen and bath \$25,000. John Askling, Cobbs Creek, Virginia.

BEAUTIFUL HOMES now available in the lovely suburban communities of Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and East Cleveland. All near spacious well equipped shopping centers, nationally acclaimed schools. These homes are located in mature integrated neighborhoods near Cleveland's Cultural Center, they sell from \$16,000 to \$32,000. VA Buyers "0" Down, FHA as low as \$300.00 Down. Contact: Cleveland Listing Exchange, Inc., 2221 N. Taylor Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio—216-851-1000.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, the Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; mature, integrated neighborhoods. Contact: The Shaker Communities, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, 216-751-2155.

FOR SALE: Several tracts of land in Beautiful Arkansas River Valley—Write for details: H. E. Harvey, Route 1, Box 259, Clarksville, Arkansas 72830.

HOUSTON? For sale: 3 bed, 2 bath, 2 story house. Integrated neighborhood. Large terraced lot, trees, fenced back yard. Garage with small greenhouse, quarters. 5 minutes TSU or UH, 15 minutes Rice, 30 minutes NASA. \$21,000, low equity. VA payments \$161/mo. If you must move or are already here, this neighborhood helps. Hacker 4215 Rosemeath, Houston, Texas 77021.

PROFESSOR NEEDS 2 BEDROOM NYC APARTMENT September-January. Will consider exchanging charming farmhouse 3 1/2 hours NYC. Leiman, S.U.N.Y., Binghamton, New York.

Arts and Crafts

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

DALI, MIRO, CHAGALL: Lithographs, etchings. Illustrated brochure, 50c: Atlas Art, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau. Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from \$15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 665 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

Music

EASIEST STRINGED INSTRUMENT TO PLAY. Dulcimers \$35 up, Kits \$15 up. HERE, Inc., N Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabbathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Some records priced as low as \$1.00! All late recordings in stereo only. MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10023.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

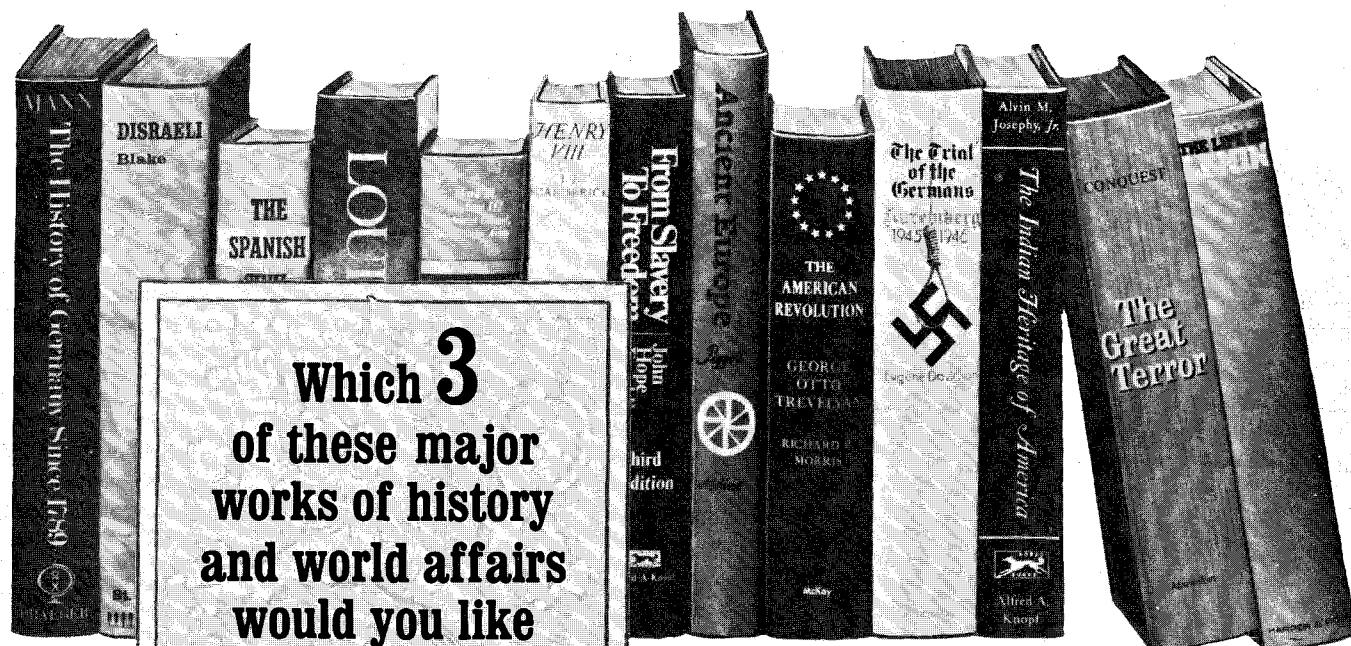
Per word (single insertion) 45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year ...40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for
Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D. C.



Which **3**
of these major
works of history
and world affairs
would you like

FOR ONLY **99¢** FOR ALL
THREE

WITH YOUR FIRST HISTORY BOOK CLUB
MEMBERSHIP CHOICE

645. THE GREAT TERROR: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties By Robert Conquest. The grim and ruthless campaign, its arrests, its interrogations, the mass slaughter and their effects on Russian life and culture. \$9.95/\$7.40

661. A HISTORY OF THE VIKINGS By Gwyn Jones. Their progress traced from prehistory to 1066, from Russia and Constantinople to North America. \$9.75/\$6.95

466. THE TWO VIET-NAMS (2nd Rev. Edition) By Bernard B. Fall. A historical study. "The most comprehensive and illuminating study yet available... of the total situation in Viet-Nam." N.Y. Times. \$7.95/\$6.80

657. THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1776-1787 By Gordon S. Wood. The evolution of American political thought from 1776 to the making of the Constitution. \$15.00/\$9.95

677. WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM By Chadwick Hansen. A fresh, objective reinterpretation of the original documents. \$6.95/\$5.75

591. LOUIS XIV By John B. Wolf. A major reassessment of the "Sun King" as soldier-ruler of a rising France. \$12.50/\$8.75

649. THE SYSTEM: The Misgovernment of Modern Britain By Max Nicholson. A dissection of Britain's power structure since Disraeli. \$10.95/\$7.65

633. THE ARMS OF KRUPP, 1587-1968 By William Manchester. The saga of the Krupp dynasty. \$12.50/\$7.50

646. EXPANSION & COEXISTENCE: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-67 By Adam B. Ulam. A thorough analysis of the conflicts in Soviet foreign relations. \$12.95/\$8.95

554. THE TRIAL OF THE GERMAN: Nuremberg, 1945-46 By Eugene Davidson. Twenty-two brilliant studies of the war criminals which build a total picture of Nazi Germany. \$12.50/\$8.95

543. ANCIENT EUROPE By Stuart Piggott. From 6000 B.C. to the Roman era, a fascinating survey of prehistoric, barbarian Europe. 194 illustrations. \$7.50/\$6.15

A National Book Award Winner
651. WHITE OVER BLACK: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 By Winthrop D. Jordan. An outstanding study of the origins of racism in the U.S. \$12.50/\$8.95

476. THE LIFE OF LENIN By Louis Fischer. The authoritative story—winner of the National Book Award. \$12.50/\$8.50

370. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR By Hugh Thomas. A spellbinder—the complete history of the grim "dress rehearsal for World War Two." \$10.00/\$7.50

607. FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM: A History of Negro Americans By John Hope Franklin. A top-ranking historian traces the Negroes' course from African origins to contemporary North and South America. \$10.75/\$7.40

First price is Publisher's List; boldface shows Member's Price.

644. GANDHI AND MODERN INDIA By Penderel Moon. Gandhi portrayed as saint and politician in his role in achieving India's independence. \$6.95/\$5.80

674. GERMANY BEYOND THE WALL: People, Politics . . . and Prosperity By Jean Edward Smith. A broad survey of East Germany today. \$8.95/\$7.50

589. THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN CULTURE By David Brion Davis. Pulitzer Prize study of ideas of slavery since the Old Testament. \$10.00/\$7.50

621. THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The history, archaeology, and ethnology of all Indian cultures in the Americas since the Ice Age. \$10.00/\$6.95

606. HENRY VIII By John J. Scarisbrick. A highly praised new study of the monarch at front-center stage. \$10.95/\$7.65

675. THE IMPERFECT SOCIETY: Beyond the New Class By Milovan Djilas. A chronicle of the disintegration of Communism by an insider. \$5.00/\$4.50

Three good reasons to join The History Book Club:

- **Dramatic savings.** As a trial member, you can save over 50% on your choice of the finest works of history and world affairs—more than 130 titles to choose from each month.
- **Liberal bonus plan.** You are free to select your bonus books from our entire list . . . no restrictions as in most clubs. After trial membership, you earn a bonus certificate with every four books you purchase.
- **Exceptional quality.** The History Book Club always brings you new volumes identical with or superior to original publishers' editions . . . never economy "book club" reprints.



ENROLL NOW TO RECEIVE UP TO \$40.45 WORTH OF FINE BOOKS FOR ONLY 99¢

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Stamford, Conn. 06904

Please open a Trial Membership for me and send the introductory package of books indicated below. Bill me 99¢ for the three. At the same time, send the membership book I have also indicated and bill me for it at the low Member's Price.

I understand that I may return the books within 2 weeks if I am not delighted with them and that their return will automatically cancel my membership. Otherwise I shall complete my Trial Membership by purchasing 4 more selections during the coming year from among more than 130 offered at money-saving Member's Prices in the monthly REVIEW. (A reply card is always enclosed with the REVIEW.) Completion of my Trial Membership will entitle me to choose a Bonus Book for every 4 books I purchase thereafter.

(NOTE: A small postage and packing charge is added to each shipment.)

Fill in numbers of your three introductory books, 99¢ for all three

Fill in number of your choice at member's price

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN WALLACE
(please print)
COLLEGE

In Canada, same savings. Shipment of books and all services will be handled within Canada. Bonus plan differs slightly.

NR 325
5 69

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB • Stamford, Conn. 06904